



Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-89-134
Friday
14 July 1989

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Envoys Comment on Status of Vienna Talks

GDR's Guenter Buehring

AU1307085689 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 12 Jul 89 p 5

[ADN report: "Rapprochement of Participants' Positions Taking Shape"]

[Text] Vienna—Ambassador Guenter Buehring, GDR envoy to the Vienna negotiations on new security and confidence-building measures in Europe, stressed that an initial rapprochement of the participants' positions is taking shape in the discussion. He said that this is particularly true for the improvement and expansion of the measures agreed in the Stockholm document.

However, there are still substantial differences regarding other problems, he said. For example, NATO doggedly refuses to negotiate on the expansion of security and confidence-building measures to include the navies, even though neutral states such as Sweden and Finland have stated that the Stockholm document, calling for the announcement and observation of amphibious exercises, shows the beginnings of a "naval component."

Ambassador Buehring said he expects the NATO states to give up their opposition to the inclusion of separate naval exercises in a system of announcement and observation. He said that "due to its exposed situation, the GDR in particular has a special interest in having the confidence-building measures not exclude the navies' separate, large-scale exercises."

Answering a question about the main problem of reaching agreement in Vienna, he said that the Stockholm document has undoubtedly proved its worth. He added that it would also be possible to reach agreement relatively quickly on improving some points in it, such as the rights of maneuvers observers, rules regarding inspections or inspectors, or the parameters for announcements and observations. However, he said, the question is whether more security and confidence are really created in this way. "The Warsaw Pact states think that a new quality in the measures is required, a quality that is not confined to a process of getting used to a number of selective measures to disclose things and make them clearer, while maintaining a high level of military activity, but a quality that meets higher requirements. What they want is to considerably reduce and limit military activities in Europe, and in this way to effectively complement the planned drastic reduction of conventional forces."

According to the GDR representative, a point of emphasis at the beginning of the next round of talks in September will be the earliest possible successful conclusion of the work of the ad-hoc group for the preparation of a seminar on military doctrines, which would have a favorable influence on the negotiations on conventional

disarmament and new security and confidence-building measures. In addition, Buehring said, it will be important to give the work of the 35 CSCE states even more dynamism.

CSSR's Ladislav Balcar

LD1307195789 Prague CTK in English 1856 GMT
13 Jul 89

[Text] Vienna July 13 (CTK correspondent)—The second round of disarmament talks of member states of the Warsaw Treaty and NATO on conventional weapons in Europe ended here today.

At today's session, the countries of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) submitted a new proposal. Head of the Soviet delegation Oleg Grinevskiy pointed out at a press conference that these are the same proposals which have been heard at the NATO summit meeting in Brussels, only worked out with more details.

"Due to intensive and matter-of-fact work during the whole second round of talks, we have succeeded in getting the attitudes concerning a number of issues considerably closer to each other", head of the Czechoslovak delegation Ladislav Balcar told CTK.

The positive results of the session are represented by the fact that the agenda of the talks at present includes six categories of conventional armed forces, i.e. basic forces for unexpected attacks, that the structure of a future agreement has been outlined and an effective working mechanism has been created, Ladislav Balcar said.

The fact that at least at the end of the second round, the NATO countries have succeeded in submitting elaborated attitudes concerning the issues of troops, aircraft and helicopters. [sentence as received] Had these attitudes—in the form of proposals—been submitted at the beginning of the talks, as the Warsaw Treaty member states have done, the talks could have proceeded even further, head of the Czechoslovak delegation Ladislav Balcar said.

CSSR, GDR, FRG Discuss Chemical Weapons

LD0707222589 Prague CTK in English 1830 GMT
7 Jul 89

[Text] Geneva July 7 (CTK)—The 14th round of the tripartite talks between Czechoslovakia and the two German states on the proposal to create a zone free of chemical weapons in Europe took place here today. The session was presided by Czechoslovak Ambassador Vratislav Vajnar.

The participants discussed a number of topical problems concerning talks on an international convention on a ban on chemical weapons and their liquidation, mainly the possibility of further practical verification of the already approved measures on control of chemical industry facilities.

Government Statement on Rights Denials in Turkey
AU1307182089 Sofia BTA in English 1726 GMT
13 Jul 89

["Gross Violation of Vienna Accords and Human Rights—Foreign Ministry Spokesman's Statement"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, July 13 (BTA)—The spokesman for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has made the following statement for the BTA:

"Over the last few days certain Turkish newspapers: CUMHURIYET, MILLIYET, TERCUMAN and others, have been reporting that a number of Bulgarian citizens who availed themselves of the recently enacted Bulgarian laws and left for Turkey on passports in order, face obstacles raised by the Turkish authorities to their free repatriation. Thus, the July 11, 1989 CUMHURIYET reports that a Bulgarian family staying in Turkey on regular passports had been taken to the vali's office in Edirne for an 'investigation' because they wanted to return to Bulgaria. On the same day, the TERCUMAN newspaper reported that another 22 families had their return impeded by the Turkish authorities. The MILLIYET newspaper reports that after two Bulgarian families were denied permission to go back to Bulgaria, they disappeared. A person identified by a Turkish source as Kemal Aliev, 65, is reported to have escaped from the camp near Edirne together with his wife, son, daughter-in-law and grandchildren when they failed to obtain a permission to leave for their homeland.

"The Bulgarian diplomatic missions in Turkey receive a number of complaints from Bulgarian citizens subjected to moral harassment and physical coercion to make them renounce their Bulgarian nationality and their right to return to the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

"Without any justification, the Turkish authorities confine to and detain in special camps all Bulgarian citizens who are visiting Turkey these days, irrespective of the purpose of their journey and of whom they want to stay with. They are brain-washed, fingerprinted, made to fill in various forms, including pledges that they renounce their Bulgarian nationality and stay on in Turkey. They are subjected to harrowing interrogations, and some of them have their foreign travel passports taken away and destroyed, which deprives them of an opportunity to return to Bulgaria.

"Such actions constitute a gross violation of the Viennese concluding document which says in its section entitled 'cooperation in humanitarian and other fields' that the countries participating in the CSCE process will provide an opportunity for everyone to leave freely any country, including his own, and to return to his country.

"The question arises as to whether Turkey, which has signed the Vienna accords, does not feel bound by it? What age does it live in? What gives the Turkish authorities the right to detain, investigate and ill-treat foreign citizens travelling on documents in order and to prevent them from freely returning to their homeland?

"The Bulgarian public voice concern over the fate of the Bulgarian citizens visiting Turkey and encountering a number of obstacles to their return to Bulgaria, all the more so that the Turkish authorities forbid them to contact the Bulgarian diplomatic missions. We have information that a number of Bulgarian citizens facing forcible expatriation are seeking illegal ways of going back, which might result in incidents along the Bulgarian-Turkish border.

"We call on the Turkish authorities to respect the identity and the passports held by the Bulgarian citizens and to provide conditions for the free movement of people in both directions, as required by the international accords."

Muslims Observe Kurban Bayram, Hold Festivities
AU1307182389 Sofia BTA in English
1733 GMT 13 Jul 89

["Muslims Observe Kurban Bayram"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, July 13 (BTA)—Bulgarians professing Islam observe their greatest religious festival, Kurban Bayram (Id al-Adha, or the Feast of the Sacrifice) on July 13, 14, 15 and 16, 1989. Religious services were conducted by Muslim clergymen at all mosques in this country today to mark the occasion.

The service at the Sofia mosque was attended by ambassadors and representatives of Islamic countries' embassies.

BCP Delegation Departs for Kadar's Funeral
AU1307194789 Sofia Domestic Service
in Bulgarian 1930 GMT 13 Jul 89

[Text] On 13 July a delegation of the Bulgarian Communist Party, led by Comrade Yordan Yotov, departed for Budapest. The delegation will take part in the funeral of Janos Kadar.

European Council Delegation Arrives on 13 Jul
AU1307144889 Sofia BTA in English
1331 GMT 13 Jul 89

[Text] Sofia, July 13 (BTA)—A delegation of the Council of Europe arrived here today at the invitation of the National Assembly Standing Committee on Foreign Policy and of the Bulgarian Interparliamentary Group. At Sofia airport the guests were welcomed by Bulgarian parliamentarians and other officials.

Politburo Approves Results of Bucharest Meeting
AU1307185389 Sofia BTA in English
1823 GMT 13 Jul 89

[Text] Sofia, July 13 (BTA)—The Politburo of the Central Committee of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] has considered and approved a briefing on the results of the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the states parties to the Warsaw Treaty, held in Bucharest on July 7 and 8, 1989.

The Politburo supported the tendency toward a further enhancement of the political character of the Warsaw Treaty. It appreciated the usefulness of the exchange of views and experience on the progress of the processes of renewal in the allied countries and stressed that the discussion on these matters augmented substantially the practice of socialist construction in the fraternal countries and that it will help solve both their specific and common problems.

The Politburo gave its unqualified approval to the balanced and realistic analysis of the situation in Europe and the world, contained in the documents signed at the meeting. The furtherance and speeding up of the positive tendencies in international life remains the top priority of the allied countries. At the same time, Politburo shared the concern voiced at the meeting over certain attempts to destabilize individual socialist countries, including ones in the Balkans, attempts which are part of more comprehensive plans against socialism as a social system.

The Politburo endorsed the new practical measures for the strengthening of European and global security, for the elimination of nuclear and chemical weapons, for talks on tactical nuclear weapons, for reductions in armed forces, armaments and military spending. The Soviet Union's preparedness to take further unilateral steps in the field of tactical nuclear weapons provided that NATO agrees to negotiations on the matter was highly commended.

Considering defense cooperation within the Warsaw Treaty, the Politburo indicated that the transition to the practical implementation of the principles of reasonable sufficiency laid down in the organization's defensive doctrine requires better interaction within the allied countries' joint armed forces.

The Politburo noted with satisfaction that the candid, comradely and constructive spirit in which the meeting was held is entirely consistent with the present-day realities and with the level of the relations among the allied socialist countries. The Politburo approved the line of perfecting and democratizing the mechanisms of cooperation in all fields as a priority area in the policy of the Warsaw Treaty states.

Zhivkov, Atanasov Greet Mongolian Leadership
AU1207135589 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO
in Bulgarian 11 Jul 89 p 1

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and State Council chairman, and Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, have sent the following message to Jambyn Batmonh, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party [MPRP] and chairman of the Presidium of the People's Great Hural, and Dumaagiyn Sodnom, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Mongolian People's Republic:

Dear Comrades,

On the occasion of your country's National Day—the 68th anniversary of the victory of the people's revolution in Mongolia—we send the MPRP Central Committee, the Presidium of the People's Great Hural, the Council of Ministers of the Mongolian People's Republic, and the Mongolian people most cordial greetings and wishes.

Under the leadership of its political vanguard, the MPRP, fraternal Mongolia achieved significant successes in the gradual construction of socialist society, and now heads toward its renewal and improvement.

The processes of restructuring in the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Mongolian People's Republic give new content to our mutual relations and enrich them with new forms and prospects of comprehensive cooperation in the name of the well-being of the Bulgarian and Mongolian peoples and the cause of socialism.

We positively assess the active efforts of the Mongolian People's Republic, aimed at security and good-neighborly relations in the region of Asia, the Pacific, and the world.

On your National Day, from the bottom of our hearts, we wish the fraternal Mongolian people peace, prosperity, and further and comprehensive progress.

Party Daily on Implementation of 6-Month Plan
AU1307201689 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO
in Bulgarian 12 Jul 89 p 1

[Editorial: "The Economy During the 6-Month Period—Preconditions of Stability"]

[Text] The subject of the headline is the first and most important thought which comes to mind while analyzing the preliminary results of implementing the plan during the first half of 1989 on the part of the companies, their departments, and our enterprises. Naturally, we have yet to read the detailed announcement, which will be issued

by the Central Statistics Administration by midsummer, as it always has in the past. However, it is important now to analyze certain facts and data in order to reorganize ourselves into a movement.

The recent months inspire confidence in our own forces. It is well-known that the economy in certain regions of our country experienced difficulties because of the sudden departure of many of our compatriots, who have decided to immediately exercise this right of theirs. The public was clearly informed that the issue does not involve a few hundred people, but tens of thousands. There is also a deficiency of manpower because of disciplinary violations, including violations of the Labor Code, absenteeism from work, and cases of unconscientious implementation of the production process obligations. All this took part during an uneasy period for our economy.

However, preliminary data allows us to clearly state that we did not allow production to drop below the level of June 1988. The results of the 6-month period are generally good: In nonagrarian branches production was 49 percent more than the quotas envisaged by the national plan. The production plan for most industrial articles has been overfulfilled, and in many cases production has surpassed the half-year quotas. Even in agriculture, where one could expect a production decrease, there is an increase in comparison with last year.

The fulfillment of obligations to the market, both internal and international, must be closely monitored if we want our economy to have the necessary authority. It is a positive fact that 10 percent more goods have been supplied in the internal market, while the implementation of the annual plan in anything related to export and our obligations to foreign partners were at a good level by the end of June. Simultaneously we must not forget that the significant retail turnover (of about 7 percent), could also be the result of a sudden purchase of goods which the population has not sought in such quantities in previous years or during this period of the year.

How have these results been achieved? There is no doubt that they have been facilitated by the intensified activity, mobilization, and initiative of the labor collectives, by their special organization for maximally using the resources, and by the leading example of the Communists and all honest, conscientious, and worthy workers. There have always been many such people in our country. The significant 9-percent increase of social productivity of labor again proves that the energy of our socialist contemporaries is a great power.

This optimism and faith in our own possibilities and personal, collective, and public initiative, which stimulate the new forms and the company-based organization of our economy, first of all require realism. Let us not

forget that all this only refers to the first part of the year. Furthermore, the analysis of the branches' performance and the territorial cross-section of the preliminary results for the first half of the year allow us to understand the irregularities in development. Some economic complexes and groups such as the "National Agro-Industrial Union," the "Forestry and Timber Industry," "Energetika," and the "Construction and Construction Industry" now are in a more difficult situation. Undoubtedly, certain oblasts and municipalities also had more difficulties than expected.

The requirements of a collective spirit, economic loyalty to one's partner, mutual assistance, and the realization that one's own success is unthinkable in the national economy without the successes of one's partner are those factors which must block the departmental interest and the striving to hide behind the difficulties of one's colleague. In recent days we have witnessed many bright examples of voluntarily assumed obligations for additional production, rendering urgent assistance, and skillfully using the economic levers and mechanisms.

We use to divide the year into four parts. There can be no doubt that despite the difficulties there are sufficient preconditions for concluding the remaining two parts with stable results.

State Council Body Debates Environment Bill

*AU1207135989 Sofia BTA in English
1334 GMT 12 Jul 89*

[Text] Sofia, July 12 (BTA)—The basic principal conditions of the future bill on environment protection and reproduction were discussed at today's session of the Council on Legislation at the State Council.

There were representatives of the standing commissions of the National Assembly on Environment Protection and Preservation and of the national councils and the local self-management, leaders of ministries and associations, representatives of the National Council of the Fatherland Front and other institutions.

The standpoints backed the expediency of the adoption of such a law. It should be agreed with the new stage of the social and economic development of our country and provide the vital conditions for the existence of the Bulgarian citizens, to combine the economic approaches with the ecological ones. Particular attention was rendered to the penalty measures which would enable the law to provide efficiently the environment protection. The opinion was expressed that the law should be particularly strict as regards the so-called ecological crimes.

It was stressed that the bill should be complied [as received] with the laws of the neighbouring states, considering ecological problems, as well as with the legislation of the other European states.

Bush Visit Message: Change Socialist System
LD1307194889 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1630 GMT 13 Jul 89

[Text] U.S. President George Bush ended his visit to Hungary today and left for Paris. Tomas Barec, our resident correspondent in Budapest, reviews the results of his visit:

[Barec] The 38 hours that George Bush spent in Hungary have undoubtedly contributed to improving relations between the United States and Hungary and at the same time to deepening contacts between East and West.

True, this is only one side of the matter. It is no coincidence that the United States should have selected, within the framework of its differentiated approach toward the socialist countries, precisely Poland and Hungary for the President's visit, where the process of reform is the most advanced. While we see in this process of restructuring the endeavor to build a better and stronger socialist system, the U.S. interest is the opposite one. This was manifested in the most naked form when George Bush declared that Hungary was separated from Europe and the West for the last 4 decades and that by carrying out present changes it is returning to the traditional scale of values.

What is hidden behind this U.S. notion? It is above all the demise of the socialist social system, and the rebuilding of the home in which the European nations live in such a way that it has not only the U.S. facade, but also the interior. As for economic cooperation, the West makes no secret at all of the fact that in return for eventual support it expects political changes in the country. Even the advantages that the U.S. President promised to Hungary yesterday are tied to certain conditions. One only needs to recall that the U.S. side made granting of the most-favored-nation clause for an unlimited period conditional on the Hungarian parliament's passing an emigration law.

There is no doubt that so far Washington has not yet understood the concept of the common European home. This is not the only example of our understanding phenomena and processes taking place in the world in a different way. It is, however, an undoubted fact that a new climate has prevailed in the world, a great new responsibility, which calls for reason and soberness. What the U.S. President has declared during his visit to Hungary is in a deep contradiction with these new trends in international relations.

Further Reportage on Genscher Visit to Prague

Genscher: Human Rights Emphasized
LD1307152789 Hamburg DPA in Germany
1407 GMT 13 Jul 89

[Text] Prague (DPA)—Federal Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher has said that he used his 2-day visit to Prague above all to press for the observation of human rights.

Genscher says that he strongly emphasized to his official interlocutors, CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party] General Secretary Milos Jakes, President Gustav Husak, Premier Ladislav Adamec, and Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes that "without human rights neither internal nor external peace is conceivable". He told the Czechoslovak politicians that "reforms cannot be restricted to the economic sector alone." Genscher told journalists before his departure from Prague that he had at the same time stressed that "no single person or ideology can lay claim to a single truth."

During a dinner with Foreign Minister Johanes, Genscher urged the opening of as many crossing-points as possible along their common border.

No accords or agreements were concluded during the visit by Genscher, who returned to Bonn this afternoon. Several treaties, especially in the ecological, economic, and cultural spheres, are "close to the signing stage", however. Efforts to reduce cross-border pollution were discussed with premier Adamec.

The federal foreign minister also met with Archbishop Cardinal Frantisek Tomasek and the human rights campaigners Vaclav Havel and Jiri Hajek and the former foreign minister Bohuslav Chnoupek. Genscher is a friend of Chnoupek.

Talk With Husak on Bilateral, World Issues
LD1307165489 Prague CTK in English 1504 GMT
13 Jul 89

[Text] Prague July 13 (CTK)—Czechoslovak President Gustav Husak received here today West German Vice-Chancellor and Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, currently on a working visit to Czechoslovakia.

During open and matter-of-fact talks, the two politicians appreciated the achieved level of mutual relations and cooperation. They stated that the development of contacts and intensive political dialogue on all levels, the widening of cooperation relations and new forms of economic and scientific-technological cooperation, contacts and exchanges in culture and other spheres create preconditions for mutual understanding and help strengthen good neighbourly relations.

Discussing international issues, the two representatives stressed that the positive changes in world development must be used in order to achieve progress in disarmament and the strengthening of peace and security in Europe and the whole world.

East-West Ties Discussed With Jakes
LD1307165689 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1600 GMT 13 Jul 89

[Text] Today, in Prague, Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] Central Committee, received Hans-Dietrich Genscher, the vice

chancellor and foreign affairs minister of the German Federal Republic, who has been in Czechoslovakia on a working visit. Both representatives exchanged views on relations between Czechoslovakia and the German Federal Republic and assessed the current international situation. They spoke in favor of comprehensive development of mutual relations, which constitutes a contribution by countries situated on the line of contact between the two military and political groupings and social systems to bolstering confidence and security on a European-wide scale. They voiced the interest of both countries in progress in the disarmament process, which would reduce substantially the concentration of arms and troops in central Europe.

Milos Jakes said that commercial and economic relations between both countries have been developing, even in a period when the international climate had been less favorable. So it is even more necessary to develop economic cooperation today so as to ensure that they correspond to the dynamism of relations in other sectors. Concerning the meeting of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee in Bucharest, he said that a new atmosphere is being created in relations between the East and the West, which is also manifested in the adoption of the documents of both the Warsaw Pact and NATO organs in a nonconfrontational manner in an effort to seek mutually advantageous and acceptable standpoints.

Milos Jakes also briefed the guest about restructuring in Czechoslovakia and tasks for carrying out economic reform. He stressed the interest in the process of democratization and openness leading to a real increase in people's participation in administration and management in economic and social life.

Hans-Dietrich Genscher stated that the process of European-wide cooperation and relaxation is becoming irreversible because no country can abandon it without damaging its own interests. One needs to approach risks with a statesmen-like wisdom, not to appropriate to oneself a monopoly of truth, and to proceed in a stabilizing way. No one must have an interest in the destabilization of the other one, said Hans-Dietrich Genscher.

Both representatives pointed to the importance of a frank exchange of views and information about what is happening in neighboring countries.

Departure for Home

*LD1307163589 Prague CTK in English 1707 GMT
13 Jul 89*

[Text] Prague July 13 (CTK)—West German Vice-Chancellor and Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher ended his working visit to Czechoslovakia and left for home today.

At Prague airport, he was seen off by Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes, at whose invitation the visit took place.

Former Foreign Minister Hajek Arrested

*AU1407091889 Cologne Deutschlandfunk Network
in German 0900 GMT 14 Jul 89*

[Text] According to information obtained by the ARD studio in Prague, former CSSR Foreign Minister Hajek has been arrested. The ARD correspondent reported from the CSSR capital that Hajek was detained by security officials in front of the Prague Olympia Hotel at about 1000. According to the correspondent, Hajek was supposed to read a paper at a seminar on the subject "The CSSR From 1918 to the Present" that the Hessian Falkenstein institute for adult education planned to hold in Prague.

Jakes Attends Start of Compact Disc Production

*LD1307195289 Prague CTK in English
1834 GMT 13 Jul 89*

[Text] Prague July 13 (CTK)—Serial production of compact discs was launched at Lodenice near here today, in the presence of Czechoslovak communist Party General Secretary Milos Jakes.

The Lodenice enterprise will turn out nearly five million discs annually. Production technology was made by the Swiss ICM firm, under a licence of Philips, which also provided training for all professions and technological assistance.

Czechoslovak compact discs are designed both for the home market and for exports to European socialist and non-socialist countries. The most important customer is to be the GDR and the Soviet Union.

Jakes Speaks at Plant

*LD1307221389 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1930 GMT 13 Jul 89*

[Excerpts] Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, opened the compact disc production plant at Lodenice, near Beroun, today. [passage omitted]

In conversations with plant employees, they touched, among other things, on questions concerning the current political situation in Czechoslovakia. Regarding the recent provocative appeal "A Few Sentences," issued by illegal structures, Milos Jakes said that such petitions and statements do no good. In our country, there are plenty of opportunities for anyone to express oneself, whether it be at one's place of work or place of residence. It is not necessary to organize pressure groups. As stressed by Milos Jakes, there is in our country enough democracy to enable every voice to be heard, and above all, one which contributes to socialism, to the tackling of problems facing us. [passage omitted]

Leaders Express Condolences on Kadar's Death

LD1307214489 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1700 GMT 13 Jul 89

[Excerpt] Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, Gustav Husak, president of the Republic, and members of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium Jozef Lenart and Karel Urbanek expressed today at the Hungarian Embassy in Prague their deep condolences on the death of Janos Kadar, for many years a leading representative of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party. The Czechoslovak representatives conveyed their sincere condolences to Miklos Barity, the Hungarian ambassador, and signed the book of condolences. [passage omitted]

Stepan-led Delegation Visits Mongolia

Chairman Rinchin Honored

AU1107103889 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak
10 Jul 89 p 5

[Report in the "From the World" column]

[Text] A delegation of the Prague Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] City Committee, headed by Miroslav Stepan, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and leading secretary of the Prague CPCZ City Committee, arrived in Ulaanbaatar, the capital city of the Mongolian People's Republic, for a brief working visit on Saturday [8 July]. M. Stepan presented, on the occasion of his 60th birthday, Londongiyn Rinchin [first name as published], chairman of the Great People's Hural, with the Order of Friendship for his merit in the development of Czechoslovak-Mongolian friendly relations and cooperation, which had been conferred on him by Gustav Husak, the CSSR president.

Order Awarded to Rinchin

LD0907202189 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1200 GMT 9 Jul 89

[Text] Mongolia: Gustav Husak, president of the Republic, has awarded to Londongiyn Rinchin, chairman of the People's Great Hural, the Order of Friendship on the occasion of his 60th birthday. By awarding this high distinction, he appreciated the merits of the Mongolian official in the development of Czechoslovak-Mongolian relations and cooperation.

The order, together with a letter of congratulations from comrade Alois Indra, was presented to him today in Ulaanbaatar by Comrade Miroslav Stepan.

Delegation Returns Home

LD1107140289 Prague CTK in English
1221 GMT 11 Jul 89

[Text] Prague July 11 (CTK)—A delegation of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee, led by Party Presidium member and Leading Secretary of

the City Party Committee of Prague, Miroslav Stepan, participating in the 13th world festival of youth and students in Pyongyang, returned home last night.

On their way back, Miroslav Stepan and Prague Mayor Zdenek Horcik, another member of the delegation, made a stop over in Ulaanbaatar to exchange experience with Mongolian People's Revolutionary party officials in the work of party organs and organizations of the two countries' capitals.

Leaders Send Congratulations to Mongolia

AU1207092789 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
11 Jul 89 p 1

[CTK report: "Congratulations to Mongolia"]

[Text] Prague—Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee, Gustav Husak, CSSR president, and Ladislav Adamec, CSSR premier, have sent Jambyn Batmonh, general secretary of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee and chairman of the Presidium of the Great People's Hural of Mongolia, and Sodnom Dumaagiyn, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Mongolian People's Republic, the following congratulatory telegram on the occasion of Mongolia's National Day—the 68th anniversary of the victory of the people's revolution:

Dear Comrades,

On behalf of the people of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and on our own behalf, we send you and all the fraternal Mongolian people our sincere comradely greetings and heartfelt congratulations on the occasion of the National Day of the Mongolian People's Republic—the 68th anniversary of the victory of the people's revolution.

The Czechoslovak people deeply esteem the results which the Mongolian working people have achieved while implementing the conclusions of the 19th Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party Congress, while building the foundations of socialist society in their homeland, and in pursuing a peaceful foreign policy. We are convinced that the Mongolian people, under the party's leadership, will attain significant successes in political, economic, and spiritual spheres on the road of renewal and reforms that has been embarked upon.

We firmly believe that the friendly cooperation between our parties and states, founded upon the principles of Marxism-Leninism and international solidarity, will continue to develop successfully to the benefit of the people of both our countries and in the interest of lasting peace in the world.

We wish you, dear comrades, and the fraternal Mongolian people, many further successes in your endeavor for the comprehensive development of the Mongolian People's Republic.

USSR Deputy Studies CSSR Agriculture
AU1307164589

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 12 July on page 7 carries in the "Our Guest" column a 500-word interview (date not given) with USSR People's Deputy Gennadiy Lisichkin, head of a department at the

Economics of the World Socialist System Institute affiliated with the USSR Academy of Sciences, by RUDE PRAVO staff journalist Zdenek Hoffmann.

Asked, in part, whether his visit to the CSSR is connected with his function as a people's deputy or as the head of his institute's department, Lisichkin replies: "With both of them. Even before I was elected deputy, I wanted to come to Czechoslovakia. Then came my work as a deputy at the congress. However, I very much wish to make use of the 'Czechoslovak card' and of Czechoslovakia's model to explain to our people how to improve our agriculture."

Kleiber, Syrian Counterpart Confer on Near East
LD1307190689 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1609 GMT 13 Jul 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Every opportunity must be utilized to bring in motion a solution to the Middle East conflict, the vice premiers of the GDR and Syria, Guenther Kleiber and Mahmud Qaddur, said in Berlin today. A suitable way of achieving this is an international conference under UN auspices, with the participation of all interested parties, including the PLO.

With its active peace policy, the GDR is making its contribution to implementing the decisions of the Bucharest Warsaw Pact summit, Kleiber said. The guest outlined Syria's activities for the implementation of the decisions of the Casablanca Arab summit.

The two politicians expressed their mutual striving to further shape the traditional friendly relations between the two states.

Warsaw Pact Conference in Bucharest Assessed
AU1207132389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 11 Jul 89 p 2

[Unattributed editorial: "Warsaw Pact in Favor of a Europe of Security, Peace, Cooperation"]

[Text] The Warsaw Pact summit meeting at the weekend [7-8 July] called for making peace more secure and finding solutions to other major international problems. The Political Consultative Committee of its member states met in Bucharest at an important time: The transition from dangerous and senseless military confrontation to peaceful cooperation has proved to be possible; however, a basic change has not yet come about. In this situation everything must be done to make the process of disarmament continuous and irreversible.

In their statement "For a Stable and Secure Europe, Free from Nuclear and Chemical Weapons, for a Significant Reduction of Armed Forces, Arms, and Military Spending," the highest representatives of the allied states have stated what is now the task and what must now be done to strengthen peace, free mankind from the danger of war, and develop mutually advantageous cooperation.

Mankind is facing problems today that it must solve to ensure its survival and the progress of the civilization it has created. Overcoming underdevelopment, and protecting the environment on a global scale are examples of such big problems. To solve them, the active participation and common efforts of all countries, as well as the strengthening of the role of the United Nations are necessary.

These are the principles of such cooperation: safeguarding security by political, not military means; the primacy of international law in the relations between states; shaping normal relations, irrespective of the countries'

sociopolitical systems; renouncing hostility and confrontation in favor of political partnership, mutual understanding, confidence, and good-neighborliness; mutual consideration of the interests of all countries and peoples; and cooperation in the area of human rights.

Major opportunities offer themselves for cooperation in the economy, science, and technology, in the ecological and humanitarian areas. Removing the obstacles to and restrictions on trade and business relations, and implementing the civil, political, economic, social, and other rights and basic liberties of man within their interdependence are essential prerequisites in this respect. The spread of neofascism has given rise to particular concern.

The strict respect for the generally recognized norms of international law, for the principles and goals of the UN Charter and the Helsinki Final Act is indispensable. There is not just one standard for shaping society. Doctrines of confrontation and any interference in other countries' internal affairs must be disclaimed. No one can assume the role of judge or arbiter.

Based on all these principles, our alliance confirms its readiness to deepen the dialogue with all countries, and to cooperate with them to solve the tasks facing Europe and the world in a constructive way.

Discontinuing the arms race and disarmament is and remains the main task. Even though the two big alliances recognize the inadmissibility of another war, the level of military confrontation is still indefensibly high and dangerous. The fact that NATO adheres to the policy of strength and the strategy of deterrence is particularly alarming.

In harmony with the energetic activity of all peace-loving, realistically-minded forces in the world, the Warsaw Pact has set against this the concept of mutual and indivisible security. That means a military balance at the lowest possible level, which is only required for defense and rules out the possibility of a surprise attack and a large-scale offensive. Thus, armaments must be reduced to a level that totally eliminates the danger of war. The Soviet Union, the GDR, and other socialist states have already made unilateral concessions in the area of disarmament. They have called upon the NATO states to follow this example by taking adequate measures. It is not the military but the political factors of security and stability that must be strengthened.

Our alliance is ready to seek to achieve agreement on gradually and totally eliminating nuclear weapons, banning and destroying chemical weapons, radically reducing conventional forces, preventing the arms race in space, gradually reducing arms production, and considerably reducing military spending. All disarmament measures must include the most effective and the most comprehensive verification. They guarantee equal security for all, while strictly respecting each country's sovereignty, independence, and territorial integrity in the

present borders, and ruling out the possibility of the use or threat of force.

What is particularly urgent is the conclusion of a treaty on a 50-percent reduction in the USSR and the U.S. strategic offensive weapons, while adhering to the ABM Treaty of 1972. Equally urgent is the discontinuance of all nuclear weapons tests. In addition, our alliance proposes separate negotiations on tactical nuclear weapons, the destabilizing effect of which would grow with conventional disarmament, and negotiations on the navies.

The Bucharest document describes the reduction of conventional forces, the reduction and subsequent elimination of tactical nuclear weapons, as well as the strengthening of confidence in Europe as crucial issues. As the next goal of the Vienna negotiations between the Warsaw Pact states and NATO it mentions the reaching of agreement on collective upper ceilings for troops and the most important weapon categories in Europe and individual European regions. It stresses that the additional proposals made at the NATO summit on conventional forces come closer to the Warsaw Pact positions. They should be formulated more precisely and should be put on the negotiating table before long, so that initial accords can be achieved soon—in the case of a constructive approach, as early as 1990.

At the Vienna negotiations of the 35 CSCE states, new security and confidence-building measures should be adopted, including the expansion of the Stockholm agreement on the announcement, observation, and restriction of all military activities, including those of the air forces and navies. A center on reducing the danger of war and preventing surprise attacks should be set up. A meeting of the highest representatives of the CSCE states should be called to discuss the results achieved and lay down tasks reaching into the future.

The participants in the Bucharest meeting informed each other about their countries' internal developments. As the communique says, in doing so they stressed the vitality of the ideas of socialism, the significance of perfecting and renewing socialist society, and the dynamism of the political and economic systems. Socialist construction is defined as a creative process which is based on general principles and laws, as well as on the experiences of mankind, while developing differently in the individual countries in line with their conditions, traditions, and requirements. Their mutual relations are based on equality and independence. Every country has the right to work out and implement its own political line, strategy, and tactics, without any outside interference.

The summit has made it clear once again that the Warsaw Pact reliably guarantees security for all. It is an important factor of peace and stability. By strengthening their solidarity and deepening cooperation, through their constructive individual and collective actions, the member states will continue to exert a favorable influence on international processes. That is the message of Bucharest.

Kleiber Receives Hungary's Medgyessy for Talks
AU1307113789 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 12 Jul 89 pp 1-2

[ADN report: "Further Cooperation Between GDR and Hungary Discussed"]

[Text] Berlin—Guenther Kleiber, GDR Council of Ministers first deputy chairman and Central Committee Politburo member of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], received Peter Medgyessy, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic, for talks on Tuesday [11 July]. The friendly talks were focused on current problems of the social development in both countries. Referring to the meeting between Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary, and Karoly Grosz, Central Committee general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP], in Berlin in September 1988, the partners in the talks stressed the broad and diverse cooperation in the economy, science, education, and culture.

Guenther Kleiber gave a report on the working people's diverse activities in preparation of the 40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR and the 12th SED Congress. He said that the Eighth SED Central Committee meeting had given an important impetus to the further comprehensive strengthening of the republic. Pursuing the well-tried course of the unity of economic and social policy, the GDR purposefully shaped the developed socialist society, he said, adding that the policy of the worker class was marked by continuity and renewal.

Peter Medgyessy for his part expounded the close connection of economic reform and socialist democracy in Hungary. He said that the exchange of opinions between the Hungarian and GDR party-state leaderships was useful in that it allowed them to take better advantage of the experiences gained in socialist construction.

In the further course of the talks, current economic policy problems were discussed, particularly problems of management and planning in the national economy, as well as problems of economic, scientific, and technological cooperation, resulting from the "Long-Term Program of Development of Economic and Scientific-Technological Cooperation Between the GDR and the Hungarian People's Republic Until the Year 2000." This program represents a good basis for the further development of trade relations between the two countries, the partners in the talks said.

Both agreed that in coordinating the 1991-1995 plans, they will use every opportunity to continue the dynamic development of cooperation and thus make an effective contribution to strengthening the two countries' national economies. In doing so, such key technologies as microelectronics, computer and robot technology, new materials, and biotechnology are very important, they said.

They stressed the necessity to broaden specialization and cooperation, and to apply on a larger scale such forms of cooperation as direct relations between enterprises, institutions, and collectives. The partners in the talks expressed satisfaction with the results of the mutual goods exchange, which is of increasing importance for the development of the national economies and for supplying goods to the people. They exchanged views on the two countries' cooperation within CEMA.

Gerhard Schuerer, deputy Council of Ministers chairman, chairman of the State Planning Commission, and SED Central Committee Politburo candidate member, took part in the talks. Erno Lakatos, ambassador of the Hungarian People's Republic to the GDR, was present at the talks.

Delegation Offers Condolences on Kadar Death
LD1307110789 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1000 GMT 13 Jul 89

[Text] A delegation of the party and state leadership has offered its condolences on behalf of Erich Honecker at the Hungarian Embassy on the death of long-serving Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] leader Janos Kadar. Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Politburo members Horst Sindermann, Kurt Hager, Egon Krenz, Werner Krolikowski, and Erich Mueckenberger were in the delegation as well as other [word indistinct]. They expressed the view that Janos Kadar will remain unforgotten by the people of the GDR. He made lasting achievements in the construction of socialism in Hungary, in the struggle for the [word indistinct] of peace, and in the consolidation of the fraternal cooperation between the SED and the MSZMP, as well as between the two states and peoples.

Leaders Greet Mongolia on Revolution Anniversary
AU1207191189 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 11 Jul 89 p 1

[ND report: "Fraternal Greetings to the Mongolian People's Republic"]

[Text] Berlin—Erich Honecker, Central Committee general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] and chairman of the GDR State Council; Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers; and Horst Sindermann, president of the GDR People's Chamber, sent the following cable to Jambyn Batmonh, Central Committee general secretary of the Mongolian Revolutionary People's Party and Presidium chairman of the People's Great Hural of the Mongolian People's Republic [MPR]; Lodongiyin Rinchin, chairman of the MPR People's Great Hural; and Dumaagiyn Sodnom, chairman of the MPR Council of Ministers:

Dear Comrades:

On the occasion of the 68th anniversary of the victory of the Mongolian people's revolution, on behalf of the SED Central Committee, the State Council, the People's

Chamber, the Council of Ministers, and the GDR people, we convey to you, the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party [MPRP], the People's Great Hural, the MPR Council of Ministers, and the fraternal MPR people the most cordial congratulations and fraternal greetings.

The MPR is an internationally respected and internationally recognized state where the people, under the leadership of its Marxist-Leninist vanguard, the MPRP, have performed great deeds for the benefit of its socialist country and for ensuring peace. The MPR has made an important contribution to the struggle for peace, detente, disarmament, and the strengthening of socialism.

We can state with considerable satisfaction that the productive cooperation between our parties, countries, and peoples has developed and deepened continuously in all areas on the basis of the agreements reached at the highest level, and on the basis of the Treaty on Friendship and Cooperation.

We wholeheartedly wish you, dear comrades, all communists, and the people in the MPR, new successes in implementing the far-reaching goals of the 19th MPRP Congress to accelerate socio-economic development, as well as good health and creativity.

Erich Honecker
SED Central Committee general secretary

GDR State Council chairman

Horst Sindermann
GDR People's Chamber president

Willi Stoph
GDR Council of Ministers chairman

Environment Minister in North Rhine-Westphalia
AU1107202489 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 8-9 Jul 89 p 5

[ADN report: "GDR Environment Minister in North Rhine-Westphalia"]

[Text] Duesseldorf (ADN)—On Friday [7 July] Hans Reichelt, deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers and GDR minister of environmental protection and water conservancy, took up the invitation by Minister President Rau to visit North Rhine-Westphalia. On the third day of his stay in the FRG, the GDR guest was welcomed in Duesseldorf by Klaus Matthiesen, North Rhine-Westphalian minister of environment, area planning, and agriculture. During a subsequent exchange of experiences on new scientific-technological insights, as well as progressive measuring and analysis methods, Matthiesen recalled the expert talks started in the GDR capital in spring 1988 on cooperation in environmental protection. In view of the statement on six environmental protection pilot projects in the GDR, which were signed by the two German states in Bonn the day before, Matthiese expressed the hope that cooperation between the GDR and North Rhine-Westphalia will also continue to deepen.

Minister Reichelt, who first acquainted himself with the functioning and method of working of the Duesseldorf Accident Center, stressed that it is necessary to exchange mutual suggestions and solutions for continuing cooperation in the interest of keeping air and water clean. Both German states are equally interested in these questions.

Subsequently, the GDR delegation, which also includes Ambassador Horst Neubauer, head of the GDR's Permanent Mission to the FRG, visited mobile measuring facilities and held informative talks in Duesseldorf industrial enterprises. At Henkel company, a leading detergent producer, the guests acquired information about phosphate substitutes and the reduction of emissions, at Babcock company in Oberhausen they acquainted themselves with effective environmental technologies.

In honor of Minister Hans Reichelt and his delegation, the North Rhine-Westphalian minister president, represented by Finance Minister Heinz Schleusser, gave a reception in the evening, which was also attended by Environment Minister Klaus Matthiesen.

SPD Deputy Hiersemann Visits Cottbus Bezirk
AU1307124889 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 12 Jul 89 p 2

[ADN report: "SPD Politician Visited Coal and Energy Center; Karl-Heinz Hiersemann Met With Werner Walde"]

[Excerpts] Cottbus (ADN)—Karl-Heinz Hiersemann, member of the Presidium of the Social Democratic Party of Germany [SPD] and chairman of the Social Democratic Parliamentary Group in the Bavarian Diet, visited Cottbus Bezirk on Tuesday [11 July]. [passage omitted]

In the evening Werner Walde, candidate member of the Politburo of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] and first secretary of the Cottbus Bezirk leadership, met with the guests from Bavaria. He briefed them on the contribution of the working people of the coal and energy bezirk to the further successful implementation of the decisions of the 11th SED Congress. Werner Walde reported on the high performance in the preparation for the 40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR as an important political event. He affirmed the citizens' determination to make a greater contribution to peace and the strengthening of socialism in the GDR.

Karl-Heinz Hiersemann paid tribute to the efforts in Cottbus Bezirk to make further progress in environmental protection despite many problems. He returns home with the feeling that now people in this region are already concerned about future generations. This is a topic that does not stop at borders. He sees good prospects for increased cooperation in the rational use of energy, he stated.

Sister City Agreements Signed With West Germany
AU1107185289 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 7 Jul 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Town-Twinning Agreements Initialed"]

[Text] Halberstadt (ADN)—Halberstadt and Wolfsburg in the FRG concluded a town-twinning agreement on Thursday [6 July]. Halberstadt Mayor Herbert Weber and Mayor Werner Schlimme and City Director Prof Dr Peter Lamberg from Wolfsburg signed the respective document. The representatives of the two cities stated concurrently that with this partnership they want to contribute to the dialogue of reason and international understanding on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence.

Weissenfels (ADN)—A town-twinning agreement between Weissenfels and Kornwestheim was initiated by the mayors of the two cities, Klaus Stephan and Michael Koepple, in the Weissenfels town hall on Thursday [6 July]. Last month, agreements to this effect had been achieved in the course of talks in the Baden-Wuerttemberg city.

Two Families Escape, Head for West Germany
AU1007190289 Vienna ORF Teletext in German 1759 GMT 10 Jul 89

[Text] Moerbisch—This morning two East Berlin families with a total of 4 children fled to the West across the Hungarian-Austrian border near Moerbisch.

They will continue to the FRG today.

According to the FRG Embassy in Vienna, at present there are more than 20 GDR citizens in Vienna, who have come via the so-called green border to Austria. In fact, the number of refugees is probably much higher, because only those who have no identity card or money come to the embassy.

[Vienna Domestic Service in German at 0500 GMT on 10 July carries a similar report which adds: "The four adults and four children managed to arrive on Austrian territory by crawling under two border fences. An alarm was triggered which, however, did not have any consequences. The GDR citizens had decided to flee when they heard about the removal of the border fortifications in Hungary and about plans in the GDR to tighten visa regulations for trips to Hungary."]

Council of State Ratifies Youth Program Treaty
LD1307162489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1337 GMT 13 Jun 89

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—The Council of State today ratified the treaty on the GDR-CSSR youth program, signed 3 May in Prague by Erich Honecker and Milos Jakes, and the chairmen of the youth associations of both countries. It comes into force on the day of the exchange of ratification documents. [passage omitted]

Further Reportage on U.S. President's Visit

'Private Sector' Fund

LD1307153189 Budapest MTI in English 1314 GMT
13 Jul 89

[Text] Budapest, July 13, 1989 (MTI-Econews)—U.S. President Bush on his visit to Hungary announced on Wednesday that the two countries will jointly establish a "Hungarian-American enterprise fund" to help the growing private sector in Hungary. The President will ask Congress to provide USD 25 million for this initiative.

The fund will support the development of the private sector in Hungary. It will disburse hard currency loans and/or venture capital grants for approved projects, including:

- Private sector development with business loans and grants and with the possible establishment of a private sector development bank
- Privatization of state owned firms through providing funds for entrepreneurs to buy into state firms
- Technical assistance and training programs in support of Hungary's private sector, helping to set up the infrastructure of small and medium size private ventures
- Funding of export projects partly or wholly private, and
- Encouraging joint ventures between Hungarian and American investors, helping to establish the infrastructure needed for contacts.

Reform Committee Letter to Bush

LD1307212689 Budapest MTI in English 1930 GMT
13 Jul 89

[Text] Budapest, July 13 (MTI)—According to the latest information, US President George Bush is currently drafting his reply to the letter forwarded to him on behalf of Hungarian parliament's reform committee by Chairman Janos Fekete and Secretary Pal Gagyor. On July 7, US Ambassador Mark Palmer, who was requested to act as mediator, promised he would forward the letter to the President.

Mr Gagyor put MTI's correspondent in the picture about the contents of the letter:

"The world economic changes in recent years and the sharp increase in nominal and real interests mean our country is faced with serious difficulties. These negative effects were coupled with the aftermath of a few economic decisions which subsequently proved incorrect. All this accounted for the accumulation of about 18,000 million dollars of gross debt, the servicing of which absorbs 50 percent of hard-currency revenues annually. The COCOM [Coordinating Committee on Export Controls of NATO] restrictions and the obstacles in the way of high-tech imports aggravate our position even further.

"Hungary has established favourable links with international financial organizations and met its payment obligations so far. At the same time, however, the standard of living has fallen considerably, and we have no adequate resources for the economic restructuring necessary for laying the foundations for the future.

"When we analysed the composition of the national debt, we in the reform committee found that, because of the great burdens which emerged unexpectedly and are unacceptable by international standards, we have already paid back the capital we originally took up. The Hungarian people can't be blamed for indebtedness—they were in no position to influence this process.

"Only international assistance, together with our own efforts, can promote our basic aim of reforming and invigorating economic life. This is the way to creating a human-oriented, prosperous society with high morality. The Hungarian people are widely known for their talents, diligence, and enterprising spirit: You can see that for yourself, because hundreds of thousands of our compatriots have contributed over the course of time to economic and intellectual prosperity in the United States and created undying values in their new homeland.

"Hungary not only deserves help: Even today, it is putting to work progressive-minded experts and top scientists to turn assistance to the benefit of the entire people.

"The reform committee would like to see development taking place in an evolutionary, peaceful and expedient manner. For this reason, we believe the support of the United States and the other advanced states is indispensable, while we are aware of our responsibility to put right the mistakes and build new bridges. The Hungarian people are prepared for this."

In view of all this, the MPs requested the U.S. Administration, legislation, and President Bush himself to endorse a request for a substantial aid package from the IMF to restore Hungary's balance of payments. The conditions of such help should not hinder the implementation of Hungarian economic policy towards liberalization—that is important. They also asked for long-term investment loans from the World Bank to promote economic restructuring, and added that, as far as they know, the Hungarian Government is mobilizing all the means at its disposal to set up a mixed-property market economy with the aim of tapping domestic reserves and attracting foreign working capital.

Spokesman's Preliminary Assessment

LD1407085389 Budapest MTI in English
2113 GMT 13 Jul 89

[Text] Budapest, July 13 (MTI)—During its Thursday session, the Council of Ministers heard a report about the talks Australian Prime Minister Robert Hawke held in Hungary.

The government discussed economic policy outlines and anti-inflationary measures for 1990-92. The body adopted an economic deregulation scheme, and heard a report about industrial tensions caused by cuts in military technology sales and the possible counter-measures.

The government proposed the Presidential Council should modify the 1981 law decree on civil aviation to increase opportunities for inland travel.

The Council of Ministers decided to set up a residence for the prime minister and made a proposal on setting up a residence for the future president of the Republic.

The government was still in session when Zsolt Banjok, acting spokesman for the Council of Ministers, opened the usual briefing.

Laszlo Kovacs, under secretary of state at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, spoke first on the visit U.S. President George Bush concluded to Hungary on Thursday morning, although that point did not figure on the session's agenda.

Mr Kovacs stressed that his assessment was the preliminary opinion of the Hungarian spokesman for the visit, as the official position will, according to established practice, be the adoption of the relevant report by the Council of Ministers.

The under secretary of state pointed out that the outcome of the President's visit dovetailed with expectations, which included neither high sums in credit nor some kind of U.S. aid. The fact that the visit came about at all is remarkable in itself, and Mr Bush's statements provided political and moral support for the Hungarian reforms the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] has initiated. He attached great importance to the detailed information the U.S. President was given about the political and economic reforms in Hungary.

Mr Kovacs said that a concrete result of the visit was the creation of more favourable conditions for the development of Hungarian-U.S. relations, as just as long-overdue Hungarian demands were solved or moved in a positive direction. He was referring to Mr Bush's speech at Karl Marx University of economics, when the possibility was raised of granting MFN [Most Favored Nation] status for five years, extending the operation of OPIC [Overseas Private Investment Corporation] to Hungary and levying preferential tariffs on Hungarian commodities.

Mr Kovacs mentioned two further Hungarian demands which figures on the agenda of the talks: The easing of the transfer of technology and the opening of a Hungarian representation on the west coast. Hungarians would like this to be a consulate with the right to carry out trade promotion activity, or a trade mission with consular

responsibilities. The U.S. reaction was that Hungary should elaborate her proposals by the next foreign ministerial meeting to be held during the UN General Assembly this autumn.

Mr Kovacs quoted the U.S. President as saying during talks that he would report on the impressions he gained in Poland and Hungary at the forthcoming Paris summit of the seven major industrialised countries, and would be encouraging them to provide coordinated backing to the two countries. How far the U.S. President's initiative will influence the other six countries remains to be seen in a few day's time, Mr Kovacs said.

Finance Minister Laszlo Bekesi then went on to report that the government session had also covered foreign currency questions concerning the population. The relevant decision will be outlined at a press conference on Friday.

The finance minister said that the decision is aimed at creating incentives and legal conditions for the population to deposit their foreign currency in bank accounts. To this end, as of September 1, a kind of standard foreign currency account will be introduced in which Hungarian citizens can deposit all foreign currency in their possession without having to declare the provenance of the money. Simultaneously, all kinds of compulsory currency exchange for forints will be abolished altogether, including royalties.

Daily: 'Important,' 'Successful' Event

LD1407095689 Budapest MTI in English
0846 GMT 14 Jul 89

[Text] Budapest, July 14 (MTI)—Friday's NEPSZABADSAG carries a commentary on the visit to Hungary of U.S. President George Bush. The visit raised Hungarian-U.S. relations to a new higher standard and, for Hungary, proved to be one of the most important and most successful diplomatic events in recent years, the article says.

Assessing the political points out that the supposition of some commentaries, that the U.S. diplomacy was governed by intentions of division and confrontation on choosing the destinations of the President, is a simplification and even a distortion. Bush visited Poland and Hungary since U.S. democracy gives high priority to the enforcement of human rights and evaluates the particular countries from this aspect. The presidential visit took place in a time 'when people on the bank of the Danube and Potomac are no longer holding different views on the free crossing of borders and the free flow of ideas.'

Concerning the disappointment of some observers about what they call a modest U.S. 'aid package', the paper says: 'No responsible people cherished illusions before the presidential visit. As expected, the United States will promote the success of the Hungarian reform processes

by improving relations, encouraging private investment, and developing the infrastructure of enterprise. And it is the success of reforms that is essential or Hungary. [no close quote as received]

In the wake of wake of political movements, the party state of Hungary is being replaced by a constitutional state. The Hungarian leaders have committed themselves to this change. There is every reason for supposing that the President agreed with the hosts: an eventual destabilization or power-vacuum in this process would create a dangerous situation pointing beyond the borders of Hungary. Since it is a mutual interest to avoid danger, the image of the enemy has to be eliminated and replaced by the image of a friend and a partner. The partitions between the East and the West should be demolished as it was reflected by the present handed over to the President: A piece of the Iron Curtain demolished on the Western border of Hungary, with the inscription: "We believe that the artificial physical and intellectual partitions still existing in the world will come down." The 38 hours the President spent in Hungary served this goal, Friday's NEPSZABADSAG says.

Daily Notes Perspectives After Visit

LD1407110989 Budapest MTI in English
0934 GMT 14 Jul 89

[Text] Budapest, July 14, 1989 (MTI-ECONews) Sceptical comments, not altogether unfounded, may well follow U.S. President Bush's visit to Hungary, even though the USD 25 million foundation, which President Bush is to seek from congress to support private enterprises in Hungary, is 25 million more than Budapest had expected, said today's leader in the Hungarian Government daily MAGYAR HIRLAP.

George Bush left Thursday morning after a one-and-half day visit to Hungary, the first by any U.S. President since the founding of the United States.

Nevertheless, it is clear that in this case, as with the probable granting of unlimited MFN [most-favored nation] status, the amount itself is insignificant compared to the precedent the U.S. legislature will have set if it eliminates restrictions which are still in force, and votes to grant cash aid to an Eastern European country, the leader went on.

Similarly, the other points of the economic package presented by President Bush, while seemingly modest, are far more valuable when viewed in terms of the prospects they open up, the article said.

Contrary to Poland, whose economic situation is not just grave, but in a state of crisis, President Bush's Hungarian hosts, on considering the content of the President's package, used every opportunity to stress that Hungary's future was not dependent on cash allocations, but exactly on what the President himself actually offered: the benevolent partnership of all nations which, because of

their strategic, political, and economic influence, can either help or hinder the Hungary's strongly export-oriented development, said MAGYAR HIRLAP, the government daily.

Further Reportage on Janos Kadar's Funeral

Demonstration Plans

LD1307173389 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1630 GMT 13 Jul 89

[Text] The Hungarian October Party and the Hungarian Radical Party want to hold a demonstration tomorrow, on Budapest's Muennich Ferenc Street, although they have not reported this to the police. The Budapest police headquarters announce that the organizers of the demonstration planned for tomorrow have not paid attention to the provisions of the law on the right of assembly.

A meeting of activists from the Budapest ninth district Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] organizations condemns the proposal by certain groups to hold a demonstration at the time of Janos Kadar's funeral. The participants said that it is sacrilegious, distasteful and irresponsible to attempt anticommunist propaganda and incitement, at the same time as the funeral of the country's outstanding historic personality, at a place near to it. The representatives of the ninth district MSZMP members consider the demonstration planned by the two parties on Muennich Ferenc Street to be such a thing, and it cautions all mourners to surmount the provocation that contains a danger of conflict.

Condolence Visits at E. Europe Embassies

LD1407001589 Budapest MTI in English 2215 GMT
13 Jul 89

[Text] Budapest, July 13 (MTI)—On the death of Janos Kadar, a visit of condolence was paid on Thursday to the Hungarian Embassy in Warsaw by leaders of the Polish United Workers' Party [PUWP]: Wojciech Jaruzleski, first secretary of the PUWP Central Committee, president of the Polish Council of State, Jozef Czyrek and Marian Orzechowski, members of the PUWP Political Committee, secretaries of the Central Committee. On behalf of the Polish Government, Deputy Prime Minister Janusz Patorski wrote a few lines into the mourners' book.

A party and state delegation paid a visit of condolence to the Hungarian Embassy in Berlin on Thursday, including five members of the Political Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany: Horst Sindermann, president of the People's Chamber, Kurt Hager, Egon Krenz, Werner Krolikowski and Erich Mueckenberger. During the day, thousands of Berliners went to the embassy to sign the book of condolences.

Those paying their respects at the Hungarian Embassy in Prague included Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ], head of state Gustav Husak, Jozef Lenart, member of the CPCZ

Central Committee Presidium, Karel Urbanek, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium, chairman of the CPCZ Central Committee Committee in charge of party work in Bohemia, and several representatives of the Central Committee.

On behalf of the Romanian Communist Party, [RCP] and the Romanian Government, Emil Bobu, member of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee, secretary of the Central Committee, Ion Dinca, first deputy prime minister, member of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee, and Ion Stoian, alternate member of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee, expressed their sympathy to Ambassador Pal Szuts in Bucharest on Thursday.

Nyers, Grosz Receive CPSU's Ligachev
LD1407134689 Budapest MTI in English
1212 GMT 14 Jul 89

[Text] Budapest, July 14 (MTI)—Rezso Nyers, president of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, and Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the party, received on Friday in Budapest, in the Central Committee headquarters, the Soviet delegation that arrived to pay final respects to Janos Kadar. The delegation is led by Yegor Ligachev, member of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union Political Committee and secretary of the Central Committee. Also present at the meeting was Boris Stukalin, ambassador of the Soviet Union to Hungary.

Grosz Farewell Remarks
AU1407143989 Budapest MTI in English
1356 GMT 14 Jul 89

[Text] Budapest, July 14 (MTI)—On Friday in Budapest, in the headquarters of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party Central Committee, Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the MSZMP, bid farewell to the late politician on behalf of his former colleagues, shortly after 3 p.m. Mr Grosz said the death of Janos Kadar closed a major era of our history. We pay our respects in a worthwhile manner if we sincerely and objectively face his political oeuvre, the lessons of the age marked by his name. Only in this way can we safeguard and advance its many values to their full development. We are proud that we could be his staff-members, his assistants, and we shall carry with us his high ideals, and continue his fight for a socialist Hungary, he said.

MTI Carries Nemeth Interview on U.S. Television
LD1307123289 Budapest MTI in English
0913 GMT 13 Jul 89

[Text] Budapest, July 13 (MTI)—Miklos Nemeth, Hungarian prime minister, has given an interview to the CBS network. The interview was broadcast at 8 a.m. Central European Time.

Q: Hungary is undergoing a period of great change and experimentation, both in politics and economics. What are the potential rewards and risks and how can you balance them?

A: The expected rewards of the political reforms are a democratic constitutional state and a new system of political decision-making which is based on multi-party system and which reflects the public will.

We expect the economic reforms to facilitate our catching up with the advanced industrialized regions in Europe, in America and elsewhere. A healthy, well-functioning economy should be built up, where individual performance and entrepreneurship are rewarded. Such an economy can also provide a modern and extensive social safety-net.

The risks are primarily economic. If we fail to stabilize the economic and monetary processes we may go bankrupt and lose touch with the advanced world.

As it would be difficult to tolerate, the risks are also political. A peaceful transition to a pluralistic democratic constitutional state can only be brought about on the basis of improving economic conditions.

A further element of risk is added by the painful processes of industrial restructuring, that adversely affect different group-interests in society, and provoke resistance.

Q: There have been some calls in Hungary for a withdrawal from the Warsaw Pact. That is exactly what brought the Soviet tanks in 1956. Do you see a day when Hungary withdraws from the Warsaw Pact? If not that, then what? Neutrality for Hungary?

A: At this point in time, the withdrawal of Hungary from the Warsaw Treaty is definitely not on our agenda. What we are really striving for is a further transformation of how the Warsaw Treaty operates. Every body or institution of the treaty should be absolutely precluded from interfering into the internal affairs of the member countries.

Our long-range ambition here in Hungary is the abolition of military blocs in Europe. It is of course a question first of all for the big powers to decide. Should it come about, neutrality would gain an entirely new dimension, and would be attainable for several countries.

Having said all that, I want to emphasize that Hungarian internal politics are sovereign, and the Soviet troops stationed in the country have no influence whatsoever on the Hungarian political processes.

Q: Under the new power sharing agreement, who is actually running Hungary? What will happen next?

A: The monolithic power structure—or the one what was assumed to be—with the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party on the top, has been broken. I believe the compromises made by the Central Committee in June and the reshuffling of some higher party officials temporarily improved the cohesion in the party. A long-term solution can only be given by an authentic leadership with clear-cut strategy, supported by grass-root organizations.

All internal feuds notwithstanding, the HSWP is still the decisive factor of the Hungarian political arena. Alternative parties and organizations also emerged, and are gaining ground in the power-play.

A further innovation is that party and the state have been separated, and due to the power-impasse the government has become a power-center of its own. True, it is a government of the HSWP, because at the time of its formation the alternative political organizations had no representation in parliament. The government undertakes the responsibility of leading the nation into real democracy, while taking into consideration the proposals of the diverse political currents.

Finally let me mention our legislation, our National Assembly. Despite allegations that it lacks legitimacy, the Assembly is fervently improving and renewing itself with steps such as new rules of the house, and a vote of no-confidence.

I would not like to try to predict what will happen in the future, and what will be selected by the Hungarian people at the first free and democratic election ahead of us. I trust that the HSWP will consolidate itself, and that no power-vacuum will be formed, as in Poland. I trust in building a new system that functions well on the basis of coalition and joint political platform of progressive parties represented democratically in a legislation accepted by the public.

Q: Economically, Hungary is attempting to introduce free market principles. That can be a painful process, leading to inflation and unemployment. Can capitalism work here? If it doesn't, is there a risk of popular rejection of reform?

A: It is really our ambition to set market forces free and to make money the chief integrator in the Hungarian economy. The creation of a market economy is good, but because of the structural distortions social risks may follow. Inflation is high but under control. Unemployment is on the increase. We are going to attack these trends, with economically reasonable social and employment policies, without distorting the basic economic rationale of the system.

Market-orientation will not necessarily mean capitalism in Hungary. Planning and state ownership will have a major role.

Capitalism is also an abstraction. How would you compare the economies of Sweden, the United States, Greece or Venezuela? As an ideological abstraction these systems are all capitalist. Most Hungarians, for example, would go for the Swedish system. By the way, the Swedes often call their system socialist.

We are now just depoliticizing and deideologizing the economy. We have to find out way in our circumstances, and there is no ready-made pattern.

In Hungary there are populist opposition forces of the reforms on both the left and right wing. It is based on fossilized traditions, on dogmatic views of the economy, and on isolationism. If we succeed—and I am sure we will—they have no chance of rolling back reform.

Q: Is communism dead in Hungary? Is everything people have been told for the past forty years wrong?

A: Communism could not die in Hungary, since we never declared over the past few decades that we were building a communist society.

Communism is a rather broad system of ideas and ideals. For a long time, we identified it with our dreams of the distant future. We in the West often identified it with the nightmares of our recent past from Stalin to Pol Pot.

We are holding on to the basic community values in the ideology, but also welcome values of civil liberties and human rights. In our ideological and economic practice, we have stopped attempting getting life to fit ideology, and now we develop ideology to fit the realities of life.

This is obviously a new model of socialism, and we are determined to give birth to this model and to let it grow. It takes time to crystalize, just like good wine to ferment and clear. No doubt we are in the stage of fermentation right now. This is why pessimistic approaches are almost typical. At the end and with good results both in politics and in the economy, our Hungarian wine will be clear and noble.

Q: What lies next? Will there be further reforms, free multi-party elections, more independence? Or retrenchment?

A: Only a few basic points can now be seen of the timetable for the next months.

First and foremost the HSWP and the opposition roundtable have to agree on fundamental questions regarding the new political and economic model. The reform process should continue. Legislation should work round the clock in order to create the limits and rules for the democratic constitutional state and for a market economy supplemented by a social net.

Political parties and organizations have to find their identity and settle down. Manifestos carrying Hungarian national and universal values have to be announced and offered to the voting public.

I don't see any realistic power within Hungary that could reasonably endanger the reform process. The international situation is also favourable, and Hungary feels the sympathy of most socialist and Western countries. Any attempt serving retrenchment would lead to national disaster.

Q: In 1956, Soviet tanks rolled into Budapest to crush a rebellion. Today Hungary celebrates a new age where victims of that time are honoured and the things Hungarians fought for are respected, even in the Soviet Union. What are the lessons of 1956?

A: 1956 left deep traces on our national memory.

A third of a century had to pass until a realistic evaluation could be given. It is a painful process, with many of the victims, relatives of victims, and also guilty people still alive.

In 1956, the Hungarian people tried to stand on its feet after a repression, and break out to create a democratic, independent state.

It is our national tragedy that the attempt of 1956 failed. It failed due to the atrocities and the foreign intervention based on big-power interests. For 33 years we tried to digest the shocks of 1956, the distortions, the reticence, and the different explanations.

Our national identity was badly shaken. The internal political climate had to change considerably, and glasnost in the Soviet Union opened up clear vision and until now inaccessible archives. Now we see 1956 as it happened, and give final tribute to those who fought for the advent of the country and who became martyrs of that fight.

The trauma of 1956 means several hundred lives were lost. A hundred thousand people left the country and the unjust repressions.

The nation can only live in peace if reconciliation carries it through and all the energies are concentrated on our common future. Spain has set a good example of how to do that.

Q: Does Hungary look to the West now, particularly the United States, for support, for leadership?

A: Looking at Hungarian history, the big powers did more harm than good to Hungary. It has been a result of geopolitical determinations, and incorrect Hungarian policies.

Now here is the unique situation, when both world powers are interested in the success of the Hungarian reforms. We need and we feel moral and political support from both sides. Of course, Hungary needs economic and financial help as well, and we expect to receive such help from the West.

We need better access to Western markets and technologies. Hungary needs more capital investment here at home, and more knowledge and practice in modern management. We have to harmonize the conflicting requirements of improving the balance, and encourage entrepreneurship.

Q: What is the significance of the visit by President Bush, the first here by a U.S. President? What concrete results can it have?

A: Hungary is a small country, but can be quite big if you count hospitality. This hospitality is extended with our appreciation to the head of state of the great United States. It is a special privilege to host your President for the first time in Budapest. I hope, in the future it will be a recurring event, a natural element in our international cooperation and dialogue.

As far as concrete results are concerned, hopefully the President and his entourage will be impressed and convinced by what they see here, and that we are sincere and resolute in raising Hungary to the standards of the highly developed countries. We would like to have the definite support of the U.S. Government in furthering our cooperation with the international monetary and political institutions. We want American capital to be more interested in Hungary, to invest more in our country and contribute to the restructuring of our economy.

I think the most important is to disperse those doubts in the United States, as well as in other Western countries, which still exist with respect to a possible retrenchment and insecurity of investments in Hungary.

Q: What do you most want to say to the American people about what is happening today in Hungary?

A: Most Americans know just a little about this distant small country of ours. We have no time for lengthy historical overviews.

Very briefly. We want to eliminate a distorted political and economic practice. We are endeavouring to build a free, democratic, pluralistic constitutional state based on real social principles, civil liberties and human rights. We want our economy to turn market-oriented, and our entire population to have a decent life free from poverty.

In a few words we want a Hungarian dream to materialize.

We will appreciate the experience shared with us and the help extended to us by your President and your people. We can and we want to learn from your practice in political and in the economy.

The hundreds of thousands of ethnic Hungarians, who found a new home in the United States, can help this cooperative process to accelerate. Many of them are world famous scientists or artists, who are a credit both to the United States and Hungary with their achievements.

Q: As you look around Hungary now, there are some exciting changes happening, with great rewards and great risks. Would all this have been possible without the reforms of Mikhail Gorbachev, how important is it to you? What will happen to Hungary if his reforms fail?

A: Hungarian reforms gained momentum from the political reforms launched by Gorbachev. His reforms are important for us from two aspects: first, his ambitions—democratization, glasnost and political pluralism—are in many ways kin to our aims, even if the enormous differences between our countries are considered.

Second, and this maybe even more important, the new Soviet foreign policy is determined to let the internal policies of the socialist countries be decided by themselves. Not only the multi-party system in Hungary is supported, but also solidarity of Poland is seen as a negotiating partner.

Having said that, the Hungarian political and economic reforms stem from Hungarian soil in the first place. If the reforms lose momentum in the Soviet Union, we would still go further, but our international conditions would be much worse. I think that it is to our benefit, that of the Soviet Union, and the entire world, Gorbachev is going to succeed.

Nemeth Interviewed on Power, Party Restructuring
AU1307104589 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET
in Hungarian 1 Jul 89 p 7

[Interview with Premier Miklos Nemeth by Attila Melykuti: "We Should Never Again Feel Ashamed of Our National Character—Miklos Nemeth on the Concentration of Power, Power Enforcement Organizations, and the People's Judgment of Historical Values"—in the Parliament, on 27 June]

[Text] Compared with past forms of power, there is unparalleled decisionmaking authority concentrated in his hands in today's Hungary. He is the first premier in 30 years who has unlimited authority, at least in his right of disposal. For a week, he has been a member of the Presidium of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] which concentrates the party rights of the party-state leadership into a four-man body. Therefore, Premier Miklos Nemeth's political power image and his declared intentions are exciting in their process too. All the more so today as society experiences the desire for

political conflict and distribution of power and the harmonious signs of real political processes. Premier Miklos Nemeth gave a two-installment interview to MAGYAR NEMZET on the opening day of the National Assembly session, and spoke about these issues and about the internal and external conditions of Hungary's sovereignty.

[Melykuti] Only a few hours ago, one of the Bacs-Kiskun County deputies claimed in the National Assembly plenary session that there was a direct contradiction between the intention to separate the party and state and the existence of the MSZMP's new "foursome" of which Premier Miklos Nemeth is a member. You tried to answer this in the Hungarian Television program "The Week" and also in the plenary session. However, I would expand this question by saying that a new type of power concentration seems to be emerging following the latest MSZMP Central Committee session; a type of power concentration unparalleled in the Hungarian political and social life after 1956....

[Nemeth] I agree with the fact that an unparalleled concentration of power branches and personal decisions is emerging now. Even if we find examples of such concentration of power, these examples are more negative in the Hungarian, and even in the international experience. However, the four of us who participate in decisionmaking, or at least Imre Pozsgay and I who remain in the government, share a basic approach according to which, in addition to the danger of a possible regression, the greatest danger lies in the current contradictory situation of the MSZMP. Therefore, we must do everything in order to avoid a situation in which an introverted MSZMP, busy with itself and with internal struggle, appears disorganized in the competition prevailing in free and democratic elections—a competition desired by all of us. A final weakening of our party would lead to a power vacuum in Hungary, and today there is no other political force capable of filling such a vacuum. No such political force could emerge in the last 40 years. This is one consideration not yet voiced by either Imre Pozsgay or me, but obviously it has been formulated by both of us.

In addition to domestic connections, we should also consider international factors. I do not want to overestimate the importance of our personal talks and experiences, but it is a fact that all responsible political and government factors, socialists, liberals, conservatives, and christian democrats have a clear view of our domestic situation and our prospects. All these people said that they had a special interest in making sure that the MSZMP they know, and which is ready for renewal, remains an organic part of the Hungarian domestic policy. Several people added that they welcomed the existence of an MSZMP that accepted a decisive role in our process of internal democratization and restructuring. There were people who spoke quite openly and declared that in a new order with the MSZMP in opposition, they need at least 2-3 years to be able to feel

certain about the direction and content of the new Hungarian policy in formation. They stuck to this viewpoint even if, in the wake of a political struggle, a party or parties close to them in name and program were to become ruling parties.

Shattered Beliefs

[Melykuti] This outside approach could cover certain status quo, security, and economic considerations and could thus lead to external views that in itself could be evaluated as conservative.

[Nemeth] Yes, the conservative name is justified. At the same time, in my opinion, reference to the status quo along with the need to preserve the balance also carries circumspection and approach characteristic of realpolitik. This includes recognition of the fact that the party-state form of politics, public life, and society has unfortunately been unable to produce competitive and genuine politicians evaluated and supported by society. The year since May 1988 has not been enough for this. In the past 4 decades, appointed or delegated executive-type people were the determining figures of the Hungarian political life.

Guarantees Against Violence

[Melykuti] We could also say, and the formulation is not untrue, that activity in the MSZMP or in an adjacent body represents the only chance of public or quasi public activity....

[Nemeth] Our entire political order, the rules of democratic centralism destroyed beliefs and illusions in a very short time. A huge passive mass of people emerged in the party as a result of the sanctity and inaccessibility of a policy which was formulated and adopted centrally, and this also caused a crisis of conscience among the generation of 40-year-old members who wanted to make changes from within the party. However, this failure also led to a period in which local communities developed their own more democratic and similar approaches.

These were the sixties and the seventies when various groups in university and people's front associations and clubs—groups that recognized and created their own identity—began to dwell on the prevailing internal problems of Hungarian society, its political issues and frameworks, which had been considered taboo. Cells and life-giving fluids that had been committed to stagnation in the past, began to work again in society. We must admit that throughout our history the people have always had a desire for freedom, independence, and autonomy. Although these deep-rooted aspirations were periodically sealed up and packed away, they kept emerging in the most difficult times. During the past 20 years, these desires proved to our society that there was a way out and one could find new conditions and organizations in which it is worth engaging in politics. The revival of reform forces within the party and the fact

that society began to clearly declare that it was no longer willing to tolerate any party-state dictatorship, played a great role in this. I am convinced that this nation will not tolerate the dictatorship of even a multiparty state, if such a multiparty system emerges in Hungary.

[Melykuti] The search for a way, with its current lack of clarity, is trying to outline past and possible future processes. However, the original question is still justified, or at least needs to be formulated more exactly: What is the use of the power concentrated in the new MSZMP Presidium? Many of us have come to the conclusion that the appointment of such an extremely narrow leadership, such as is unknown in socialist countries, perhaps known only in the East, is proof of the readiness to deal with the crisis....

[Nemeth] I consider crisis management and substantial compromise to rank equally. I think that the decisive intention behind this decision is to make the reform party MSZMP prepare for elections by integrating the initiatives that are coming from below as thoroughly as possible. In my view, the fact that we have found a guarantee for avoiding the forced abuse of the existing power and a policy that might use this as a forced solution is extremely important.

Something for Which We Must Swear

[Melykuti] I think that this is the only directly acceptable explanation that is both understandable and genuine for the masses.

[Nemeth] In this respect too it is fortunate that there are two government members in the MSZMP Presidium. Without considering them to be a deliberate conspiracy, we can avoid efforts and endeavors that have not been thoroughly considered and which could place the Council of Ministers or even Parliament in an impossible situation, in the eyes of the people and of the world alike. While I am on this subject, I declare that the government serves the nation, and, together with Imre Pozsgay, we represent this voluntarily accepted role in the MSZMP Presidium until the party congress, which is to be held on 7 October 1989. However, the present government, responsible to Parliament and the country, expects much stronger support from the MSZMP than hitherto. We cannot bear for long a situation like the recent one in which we found greater understanding for some of our measures outside the party than within it.

[Melykuti] From this viewpoint, too, there is another line of thought we cannot avoid and about which we speak only rarely. So far, this has outlined the sphere of application of the instruments of oppression. In other words, the question that arises for many people in Hungary, together with fear, is what body or person today holds the power in Hungary, including the instruments of oppression? The answer is also decisive in itself because after the MSZMP

party congress in 1988, Karoly Grosz established a committee that, according to its intentions and sphere of authority, fused the Ministry of Interior and the Defense Ministry through their deputies....

[Nemeth] It is true that such a committee was established. In addition to the heads of the aforementioned two ministries, its members also include National Assembly Chairman Matyas Szuros, Central Committee Secretary Gyorgy Fejti, Workers Militia National Commander Sandor Borbely, and Foreign Minister Gyula Horn. Political figures like Jeno Fock have also been given a place in this committee.

[Melykuti] There is something I would like to ask you precisely, and it is: who has control over these organizations and the use of instruments of oppression in the summer of 1989, General Secretary Karoly Grosz or Premier Nemeth?

[Nemeth] Let us deal with each component of this question? First of all, the same thing applies to this committee as to the other party bodies, namely, that this is not a decisionmaking forum. Although I was always invited to attend, I could never participate in the meetings because of timing difficulties. However, I am aware of its sphere of authority because I participated in outlining it. For example, from the beginning we agreed that the committee would not be able to make mandatory decisions, even concerning the party. The committee could at most submit proposals to the Politburo or the Central Committee, in the sense that as far as its strategy is concerned, every party that functions normally has an economic, military, security, and foreign policy philosophy. We also stipulated that no position that limits the mobility of the participating government members could be taken even in this connection. As far as the 1 year that has passed so far is concerned, it is clear that this committee has not violated these basic principles and has not made any proposals for the government. Karoly Grosz is not in charge of the Armed Forces. In addition to declaring as much, the elimination of the administrative department also means an organizational end of direct party guidance and supervision. We decided to reformulate the role of the interior, defense and foreign affairs and of the Workers Militia as part of a reevaluation of our foreign and defense strategy after the party conference in 1988.

In other words, I can say that we reviewed for example the series of regulations and party decisions on the Workers Militia—the last of which was taken in 1978—not only as a result of pressure from society and articles in the press. We published the government position on this issue a few weeks ago and we left no doubt that this body came under the jurisdiction of the Council of Ministers, and under government supervision. We regularly examine the role and tasks of the Workers Militia within the framework of working out our aforementioned defensive doctrine and security policy philosophy, including the question of the changing of its name, the elimination of its duty of

guarding party houses and the elimination of the MSZMP guard of honor. We would like to work out a new order by the end of this year, a new order that would focus primarily on rear defense and prevention of disasters, strictly on voluntary basis.

[Melykuti] But then, this means a fundamentally changed Workers Militia, one that would serve the country rather than the ruling power. Without forcing the use of various attributes, this could also represent the role of a future national guard....

[Nemeth] National guard, or militia, the name is not important. The essential thing is that the tasks serve the nation, and, in this respect too, a decision implementing the democracy that is currently in formation should also emerge. We will do our country and the Armed Forces themselves good if we exempt them from any party policy struggle. In the same respect, we also want them to approach the prevailing domestic policy issues without party policy considerations. In other words, the new Constitution should provide only one command for them, namely the obligation to defend and serve the country. This is the basic premise for which everyone who bears arms should swear.

The Age of the One-Type Model Is Over

[Melykuti] Who is the commander in chief of the Hungarian Armed Forces today?

[Nemeth] I cannot give you a clearcut answer to that today, but if you included hidden references in this question, I can tell you that it is not Karoly Grosz. My answer is not clearcut because, due to political and state and political law considerations and not personal considerations, the distribution of roles has not yet been clearly delineated between the state president and the premier.

[Melykuti] So far, we have been talking about freedom, the legal and decision conditions of internal self-determination, and about domestic guarantees for the people's sovereignty. There is also another aspect to this line of thought, namely, Hungary's foreign policy sovereignty. It was precisely Miklos Nemeth who declared a few weeks ago that, in his view, the Soviet Union would not interfere in the internal developments in Hungary, either directly or indirectly. What are the guarantees for this, beyond the Communist belief? One should ask this question all the more so because the people remember 1956, when Mikojan and Suslov manifested their best intention to the Imre Nagy leadership that the Soviet Union would not interfere....

[Nemeth] If there is one thing that the current Soviet leadership has recognized well, it is the fact that the time of one-type model marching to one command is over. The variety of socialism has become obvious, and I will add that this is also true of democratic socialism. It is the

historical achievement of Gorbachev and the Gorbachev-line, that he has recognized the justification of differences deriving from historical traditions and country size. It is also part of the answer to say that, since December 1988, in a speech he gave in New York and in two speeches in the Soviet Union, Gorbachev formulated the new basic principles of cooperation between socialist countries. I also regard these principles as guarantees in the sense that the revival of Brezhnev-reflexes and the clearly suicidal political revival of an old doctrine is not realistic. In international affairs today, an intervention similar to that in 1956 or 1968, or even similar to the military intervention in Afghanistan in 1979, would face tremendous opposition and lack of understanding, and a rational political leadership takes this into consideration together with world realities, and this represents a guarantee. Finally, I want to speak about the experiences of my talks with the Soviet leaders, with Gorbachev and Ryzhkov, personally. Everything they said was convincing for me, and this also illustrates that, for quite a while, we have stopped asking for Moscow's approval in either foreign policy or domestic policy issues. It is true that they do not demand that either. Our new economic and foreign policy opening and our intention to have even closer relations with various regions of the world prove the increase and strengthening of our national sovereignty and scope. The same efforts and basic principles should be implemented in international affairs as the ones in the domestic democracy in Hungary. First of all, tolerance for different views should increase in bilateral relations and multilateral relations alike. This is an organic part of political style and the changing of truths through debates.

Atoned Servilism

[Melykuti] You speak of historically developed fundamental values that are closely connected with the ideas of humanism. However, humanism cannot be separated from politics, including government activity. Along with the efforts at independence of the Council of Ministers, or precisely as a reflection of these efforts, Premier Miklos Nemeth is using terms like "in the service of the nation" and "in the service of society" with increasing frequency, terms unknown in previous decades.

[Nemeth] Hungarian history proves that our country always had successful periods when we did not slavishly follow foreign models, and strongly concentrated on our own roots and qualities. I recognized this even when I was a student. In addition, we also see negative examples and we paid for servile imitation, and thus this experience has also led to the reevaluation of the role played by the government. Therefore, I believe that Hungarian society should never again subordinate its real interests to any kind of theoretical ideological consideration, by not thinking in terms of a nation! This imperative derived not only from a cold rationality or a historical lesson, but also along emotional considerations that are difficult to formulate. However, I can say this much, that

my wish is that we should never again have to be ashamed of our national character, which has so often been suppressed by power politics, or of asserting our own interests.

[Melykuti] People were never ashamed, they were only hiding their feelings, like an old and torn flag....

[Nemeth] A leadership may have an opinion about specific events or about domestic or foreign conflicts. However, the leadership should be aware of the fact that the people also have their own value judgment. From this point of view, it is important to draw the conclusion that, if there is too much discrepancy and essential difference between the two, the opinion of the people will be valid and historically genuine in the long term.

Nyers, Csaki Interviewed on Party Role
LD1307232689 Budapest Television Service
in Hungarian 1840 GMT 13 Jul 89

[Excerpts] From the "News Background" program presented by Ivan Lipovecz, with Reszo Nyers, chairman of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party [MSZMP], and Csaba Csaki, rector of Karl Marx University, member of the central committee; no video available

[Nyers] [passage omitted] The entirety of the Kadar era has only just been brought home truly for the first time to the Hungarian people and Hungarian nation. It is now that people are aware of what we have left behind us, and what sort of man we should respect in the person of Janos Kadar and what his politics meant to the nation. I believe that several people are right. People who say that his politics brought significant stability for Hungary, are right, and I am thinking of the decade of the sixties. This was of value for the country. In the decade of the seventies, living standards were characterized by stability. However, in production relations, the tendencies of instability had begun already. But even so, I have to say that he was able to place Hungarian politics into a specific half-shade regarding international relations. This expression originates from Gyula Illyes [Hungarian poet and writer], and I feel it is rather apt.

However, finally, stability was proved exaggerated; Stability proved to have a price, and we have to pay this price now.

[Lipovecz] [passage omitted] If my information or observations are correct about the past 15 years in your personal life, what made you take this post?

[Nyers] I have considered myself as some kind of discharged political soldier, and to tell you the honest truth, I still feel that I am one. The circumstances have changed, and the discharged soldier was recalled to the leadership. I felt that it was my duty; if they consider that I am able to help, and I want to help, then the only question remains as to whether I can help or not. So I will try.

[Lipovecz] It may be that you feel yourself as a discharged soldier, but I know very well that even you had a different opinion of yourself. For example, you said once among friends that you are a man on the wings, that is, you do not belong to the center, for example.

[Nyers] Well, yes, I only mean the leadership, that is, I was discharged from the leadership, but not as a politician. I have been occupied in politics all along and I have represented reform politics within the MSZMP, and, incidentally, I still represent this. I was a man on the side; I said this, and this was so. Now, I feel that the politics which I have represented, and not only me, is getting into the center of the Party.

[Lipovecz] What is the price? What moves what? In the given case, what moves a reform wing from a position on the side toward the center, or what moves the center toward the reform wing?

[Nyers] Well, the economic crisis, and the symptom is that the earlier political system is unable to handle—well, to use the fashionable expression—to manage the economy and the country within these circumstances.

[Lipovecz] There is a bit more to this than the lack of managing abilities; not only the country but also the party is confronted with an enormous crisis. I do not just mean the crisis of trust coming from the outside, but also the leadership crisis forming and fermenting from within.

[Nyers] I have said the same, using a scientific expression. This is really a crisis, and this is what pushed the earlier reform wing of the Party toward the center of the Party. I consider this a normal development.

[Csaki] [passage omitted]

[Lipovecz] Is the same trap perhaps lurking that also lurked at the party's May 1988 party conference, where they thought there was one great meeting where questions arose to be settled? Later it transpired that nothing was settled at all, just the contrary.

[Nyers] I hope this will not be a trap. I base this hope on the fact that before the 1988 party conference, there was not a really deep analysis of the political situation and the role of the party. I remember in the Central Committee of the time we could not agree in the analysis connected with the political system, and we parted without a resolution. Now we have got to the stage where we examine the political situation in a free-spirited way, critically. We have been freed of inhibitions, freed of the Messianistic conception, the remnants of which were present in the party before May 1988. I think we evaluate the situation objectively today.

[Lipovecz] May I ask who you mean by the first person plural? The Central Committee; the newly formed Political Executive Committee; perhaps the four-member Presidium?

[Nyers] I mean all three. [as heard] I also mean it for the Central Committee. I can well compare the earlier debates, those before May 1988, those after May, and those of today. Csaba Csaki is also present. I have to say that these are lively debates now. There were meetings where we parted without agreement, but I do not view this as the state of falling apart.

[Csaki] What I consider very significant also is that a very lively politicizing has started in the sphere of the party members. It would be no use if the Central Committee debates were lively, if the membership were apathetic, passive onlookers.

[Lipovecz] In what proportion has this started?

[Csaki] I think a rather wide proportion. [passage omitted]

[Nyers] The greatest confusion is in the party organizations of the intelligentsia. This new value orientation, which has not yet completely been formed, of leaving the old behind us, causes the greatest confusion among the intelligentsia. There is also a relatively wide strata of the party membership around the country which shows uncertainty. This undoubtedly exists, but the dynamics and the mood of the party are more and more being determined by this active strata, which is looking for new paths.

[Lipovecz] Can this new value orientation definition be translated simply as the social democratization of the party?

[Nyers] The wide-ranging incorporation of social democratic values in party policy, this is how I would say it. Social democratization is rather simplistic.

[Lipovecz] Where are the traditions of this in the party?

[Nyers] The traditions of it in this party lie in the fact that half the party membership at the time of the union were social democratic party members.

[Lipovecz] At the time [words indistinct]

[Nyers] In my opinion, the original values of the time of starting have an effect all the way through in a party. [passage omitted] For a long time, the MSZMP was a party nurtured on the basis of a class struggle policy, and this class struggle behavior, despite the warnings of Janos Kadar in the sixties in the first reform period, the party could not break with it sufficiently.

[Lipovecz] Obviously it could not, because it was not tested by competition, in such a monolithic situation.

[Nyers] This made the situation fundamentally more difficult, it made a barrier. But, I would not absolve ourselves, the MSZMP. It could have been a more modern party of the masses than it was earlier.

[Lipovecz] When the party election program, and the program statement for the congress are prepared, in what way will these significantly differ from those alternative programs declaring new values, which are beginning to appear, either concretely or in their beginnings?

[Nyers] In my opinion, in the main questions of constitutionalizing direction, our party will have a very similar political program as that of the great part, the greater part, of the parties now under formation. In the question of constitutionalizing, [as heard] But, this is not surprising, rather it is good, because this means that these parties under formation envisage the historical process in essence in the same way as the MSZMP. But this only applies to the historical process. In connection with this, the question arises as to who is credit-worthy. Can the MSZMP be credit-worthy, or can only a party which did not commit such mistakes as the MSZMP earlier—for it did not even exist—be credit-worthy? This is one question. Apart from this, in my opinion, in the question of every-day politics, short and medium-term politics, substantive alternatives will be in opposition to each other. These are not yet appearing markedly enough today.

[Lipovecz] If this part simply turns a page in its own politics, in its own political philosophy if you like, and starts to avow something different, will it have greater credit-worthiness from this?

[Nyers] Well, just from this, as you put it, no. If what had happened was that the MSZMP's policies in their entirety, economic, foreign, cultural policy, had been mistaken in all things, and now we wanted to do something completely different, creditworthiness for this cannot be created. [passage omitted] The MSZMP was always a party that wanted to improve life and its circumstances. What is more, it took a stance for a widening of human freedom rights, not in the full sphere, but to a certain degree. Here, in central-eastern and eastern Europe, we were first to open the gates to the West in tourism—apart from Yugoslavia.

[Lipovecz] Unfortunately, the gate was also opened to others, to the section of the intelligentsia which in some manner found itself in opposition to this party political line in the middle and second half of the seventies, and who in the end had no alternative other than to leave the country—either in a physical or intellectual sense. [passage omitted]

[Nyers] That is true, but it does not pertain to all of the Hungarian intelligentsia. It was very unfortunate and mistaken around 1973, that this—and this is what is interesting—affected precisely the party's intelligentsia, and not the nonparty intelligentsia, and to a lesser extent the technical-cultural intelligentsia.

[Csaki] [passage omitted]

[Nyers] So we will now gain credibility by resolving to face up to our own mistake, and since not everything we did was mistaken, in my view it can be supposed that the MSZMP is really able to implement change, and to pursue a good policy which is in the nation's interest.

[Lipovecz] I believe that this week there was a discussion of the first version of this program which is now being formed. Regarding what it proclaims—a mixed property economy, that no form of property is dominant, market competition and measuring up on the basis of market competition, the recognition of greater performance, the allowing of greater income differences, a democratic constitutional state, civil freedom rights—you spoke in an earlier television program about accepting and asserting certain civil values—if I put all this in a bunch and compare them to the program being formed by any of the insignificant opposition political forces, where is the difference?

[Nyers] Please, the difference will later be clearly visible. In the process of constitutionalization there is no true difference regarding these—regarding what kind of state we should build—that it should be a constitutional state, and that social values should be constitutionally prescribed here, that instead of socialist values, civil values should also be given place alongside the socialist values. In this, a consensus can be created. You do not, and cannot, see a big difference. However, in the course of things, in short and medium-term politicizing, an important question will be whether we place emphasis, in a given period, on the socialist values, or on the civil-value theses, for example regarding economic policy.

[Csaki] [passage omitted]

[Nyers] Look, at the moment, the MSZMP is the victim of its own monolithic power. Thus, the MSZMP is a victim in current judgment.

[Lipovecz] What about MSZMP cadres?

[Nyers] The cadres of the MSZMP are another issue. Please, I have been observing, for nearly 50 years, European political development, and at times on other continents, too. I have noticed that over a certain time, every governing party has made small or big mistakes—if it has been in power for a long time, the mistakes have been bigger. I cannot view the opposition as credible because of its being without mistakes. We have to think of the future, and why should it be precisely our opposition that is the sole political current in the world which, if it were to get into power, would function entirely faultlessly? I cannot conceive of this.

[Lipovecz] You, personally, are a partaker in Hungarian intellectual life, around which in recent years very many people have been reared, or organized themselves or gathered—many of whom provide the intellectual basis for certain segments of the opposition. What is your personal attitude to this opposition?

[Nyers] Please, I was a critic within the party, and to be sure, I was a fellow-traveler with a good part of the opposition, in criticizing the Stalinist model. We were of nearly identical opinion, and this is how we are at present, too. Thus, the opinions are identical.

[Lipovecz] But for all that, you regret that you have partially or fully lost these (?companions).

[Nyers] I regret it, but we have not lost one another. I have to say that I also meet numerous friends, or good acquaintances, or colleagues who are now in the opposition. We have a certain, basic trust in one another. That is a great asset, and it would be very good if this were to remain so. I think that until we transcend Stalinism once and for all, we shall have to remain fellow-travelers to a certain extent.

[Lipovecz] Coalition?

[Nyers] It could be a concordance outside of a coalition, it could also be a coalition.

[Lipovecz] In the final analysis, the country has to be governed.

[Nyers] Yes. And in my view, government, in a period of transition like this, must be a government of national concentration—I am using an archaic expression. If we are able to give birth to this, it will be very good for the nation. If we cannot give birth to it, it will not be a catastrophe, but it will be a bit more difficult for the nation.

[Lipovecz] So, in the final analysis, is an evolution taking place in our country, or is it more?

[Csaki] I believe that it is more than classic evolution; the expression model-change, itself, suggests this. Reforms are not a help, the issue at hand is more than that—we have to carry out a restructuring of the entire economic and political system, which, in truth, can be perceived as a revolution.

[Nyers] What I consider important is that the matter here is one of structural reforms. I do not judge the word revolution to be apt. They are structural reforms.

[Lipovecz] Obviously, no matter how much effort is put into it, no matter how much good will there is, no matter how much readiness for change there is in the MSZMP leadership, no matter how much readiness for cooperation in the opposition, basically what happens, or can happen, here within the country, does not determine where we shall end up. For this, we are too small, and geographically we are a bit badly positioned.

[Nyers] I would not say we are badly positioned. My forefather Arpad [leader of the Magyar tribes during the conquest in 896] chose a very good place for us here. It is not the place which causes problems. The problem is with our adaptability, and our taking advantage of the situation, but this can be remedied.

In truth, in the current world of mutual dependences, we cannot imagine that we can make our internal policy entirely independent of international currents, determinations. Thus, it is necessary to adapt well to our surroundings and the world, regarding foreign policy and domestic policy, too. It is also by our domestic policy that we adapt or we do not adapt.

[Lipovecz] Now, the question is whether to make ourselves independent, or lessen the dependence, or to enter into a new kind of dependence? We are well aware there are critics of the changes which are taking place in Hungary's external system of relations, and not only are there foreign critics who disapprove of the fact that the U.S. President came to Budapest; there are also critics in Hungary who say that a dependence in a certain direction will now be replaced by a two-sided dependence.

[Nyers] There is a negative dependence, and there is a positive dependence, in my view. A negative dependence happens when a country is unable to stand on its own feet, and it offers to the [word indistinct] world the same amount as what it receives from the world. A positive dependence happens when the country is in equilibrium and it does not become a servant.

[Lipovecz] Is the debt of 20 billion, or 17 billion [figures only as heard] a quantification of a negative dependence?

[Nyers] The creation of this, the process of its creation, constituted a negative dependence. As soon as we manage to be self-accounting, to stand independently on our own feet, and if I could say—simplifying things somewhat but not falsifying things—that the country's balance of payments is in lasting equilibrium, in that case we shall basically not be negatively dependent. And there still will be a requirement, that we produce the potential for paying the interest-burdens, out of national income.

[Csaki] [passage omitted]

[Lipovecz] Interest rates are not so bad in the world economy—a few years ago they were much higher.

[Nyers] Interest is still high, but it also depends on the composition of our stock of credits.

[Csaki] The manner in which we might ease the pressure is also a question. One solution would be for us to get new capital, working capital.

[Lipovecz] And are we getting any?

[Csaki] I was talking in theoretical terms....

[Lipovecz, interrupting] But after Bush's visit, can't the question be put, whether or not we are getting any?

[Csaki] I do not believe that in this regard the Bush visit might have changed the situation unfavorably. I do not believe that more could have seriously been expected.

[Nyers] In my view, it is clear that we shall get some, but it is not clear whether or not we can take it in.

[Lipovecz] Are you thinking of working capital?

[Nyers] I am thinking of working capital. And we have to know how to transform credit-capital into working capital. At least part of it.

[Lipovecz] [passage omitted]

[Nyers] I feel there is very great interest, on the part primarily of West European capital, and also on the part of some U.S. capital, vis-a-vis the East European market, in general, and within this, vis-a-vis Hungary, too.

Of course, the entire, big market is interested in foreign working capital, and it is more difficult for an enormously large multinational company to invest in a country with a small market, a 10-million-strong country. However, if we were able to offer this market, in its entirety, and if there were to be convertible relations between the national economies, an entirely different situation would come about.

[Lipovecz] I remember a lecture of yours; It was delivered 20 years ago here in Budapest. You said CEMA was stalemated, and I do not believe that anything might have changed this during these 20 years.

[Nyers] I might almost say that there is a checkmate situation.

[Lipovecz] Then, a final thing: not only did you meet Bush, but you have met Gorbachev, and not only was the U.S. President in Budapest, but you, as MSZMP president, and premier Miklos Nemeth, in the company of others, were at the session of the Warsaw Pact's Political Consultative committee session in Bucharest. What is your impression? If we view things from the East, are the external conditions of the Hungarian reform processes so favorable?

[Nyers] If we look toward the Soviet Union, I have to say that they are decidedly favorably, with regard to the Gorbachev policy. This impression I had gained strength at the meeting with Gorbachev, and also at the plenary session.

I could name other countries which are also pursuing reforms, where I view the situation to be favorable. Overall, in the CEMA region, our reception is not only favorable, but the reforms also elicit a certain confusing impact in some countries.

[Lipovecz] Does this remind you of the external reception 15 years ago, or even earlier, at the beginning of the seventies? Properly speaking, your personal fate was linked somewhat to the fact that the external reception here, within CEMA or the Warsaw Pact, was not the most favorable, regarding the reforms in Hungary.

[Nyers] It does not remind me of this. It reminds me of the opposite. Putting it figuratively, I could say that at that time, in the early seventies, anti-reform winds were blowing in Eastern Europe and in East-Central Europe. These were disturbed by the reform countries, among others, Hungary. Now, there is a wind of reform in Eastern Europe; There is a wind of reform, because this

region is unable, economically, to develop further with impetus, without reforms. The resources of the old policy and the old mechanism have been exhausted. So there is now a wind of reform here, and it is the countries which are not implementing a reform which constitute a problem.

[Lipovecz] However, they are of no small number.

[Nyers] It is half-and-half. Yet, there is a large country in the reform-camp. Thus, mathematically, it is half-and-half, but economically it is the wind of reform which is now blowing strongly—not gently. I do not mean to say that the path of reforms is smooth. Great difficulties appear.

[Lipovecz] And aren't they half-and-half in the large country?

[Nyers] No, they are not half-and-half because here, it is the Gorbachev policy which is determining the course. It is having many, many difficulties, there are some who resist it, there are some who are passive vis-a-vis it. Gorbachev hinted at this in his most recent speech in Leningrad. I am nevertheless of the view that the wind of reform is the strong wind.

[Lipovecz] Dear viewers, I leave it up to you to judge whether it is evolution or revolution. Thank you for watching "News Background."

Netherlands Ambassador Meets Straub, Nemeth
LD1307193589 Budapest MTI in English 1747 GMT 13 Jul 89

[Text] Budapest, July 13 (MTI)—Janine M.A. Ferringa, outgoing ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Kingdom of the Netherlands to Hungary, paid a farewell visit to Bruno Straub, president of the Presidential Council, and Miklos Nemeth, chairman of the Council of Ministers.

Political Committee Plans for Party Congress
LD1107223689 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 11 Jul 89

[Text] The Political Executive Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party held a session in Budapest. The committee discussed the agenda and order of the party congress, which is to take place in the autumn. The committee noted that the regulations, work organization, and schedule must be formulated with political objectives in mind.

It is especially important to emphasize that the party will start on a new road; It will represent new socialist politics and exhibit new behavior. The committee emphasized that the party is looking towards the future and has feasible propositions for the solution of social problems.

Walesa Spokesman, Official on Bush Departure
LD1307213889 Warsaw PAP in English
2014 GMT 13 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw, July 13—Head of Lech Walesa's Secretariat Krzysztof Pusz presented the following statement to PAP:

"In connection with the statement by Lieutenant Colonel Wieslaw Gornicki at his press conference here, I state, as a person responsible on behalf of Solidarnosc for the Course of President Bush's visit to Gdansk, that the farewell of President Bush with Lech Walesa took place immediately after their meeting at the monument to the fallen shipyard workers, in tune with earlier arrangements with the American side.

"The information presented by Lieutenant Colonel Gornicki alleging that Walesa refused to take part in the farewell ceremony at the airport is untrue."

PAP asked the spokesman for the president of the Council of State to comment on the statement by the head of Lech Walesa's Secretariat.

Lieutenant Colonel Wieslaw Gornicki said that in his statement at the press conference July 11 he had quoted a document of the Diplomatic Protocol Department of the Foreign Ministry. It was prepared in agreement with the U.S. side 48 hours before the arrival of President Bush in Poland. The document envisaged the presence of Lech Walesa and his wife at the Rebiechowo Airport. Appropriate documentation is available.

Gornicki said that he did not know anything about earlier arrangements made by Lech Walesa or his Secretariat with the U.S. side. This does not come within the duties of the spokesman for the president of the Council of State. His explanations at the press conference followed questions asked several times by American journalists, Gornicki said.

PZPR Politburo Meets, Assesses Bush Visit
LD1307232189 Warsaw PAP in English
2229 GMT 13 Jul 89

[Communique from PUWP Central Committee Political Bureau meeting]

[Text] Warsaw, July 13—The PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] Central Committee Political Bureau discussed on July 12 the socio-political and economic situation in the country. It heard a report on the work of the PUWP floor group in the Sejm and underlined the importance of parliamentary activities.

It got acquainted with the state of preparations for the second part of the 13th plenum of the PUWP Central Committee. They are advanced and continue without impediments. The plenary session will be convened still this month.

It is very important for the Central Committee to take a clear stand on what the party comes out for, for what it will defend and oppose and, finally, what solutions it is going to prefer in the country's political, social and economic life.

The plenary meeting will assess the elections campaign and draw political as well as personnel-related conclusions from this.

The Political Bureau was informed on the course and results of the conference of the Political Consultative Committee of the states-parties to the Warsaw Treaty which had been held in Bucharest between July 7 and 8.

It was stated with satisfaction that the session's documents give priority to development of the all-European process, to building undivided Europe of durable peace and cooperation respecting the existing territorial and political reality and inviolability of borders.

The Political Bureau expressed support for the allied countries proposal to start constructive dialogue between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO. It would constitute an important factor of stability and security on our continent.

The Bureau focussed its attention particularly on those parts of the communique from the session that stress great significance and impact on the international situation of the socio-political and economic transformations in the allied countries.

At the same time the Political Bureau underlined the importance of the univocal assertion by participants in the Bucharest session that there is no universal socialist model and its definition is up to each of the countries alone.

The Bureau expressed its approval of the announcement, made at the session, of the evolution of the Warsaw Treaty from a military and political pact towards a political and defensive alliance.

The Political Bureau approved the results of the session and the creative contribution of Poland's delegation to its decisions taking into account its positive results from the point of view of Poland's national interests.

The Political Bureau got acquainted with the course and the results of the official visit by U.S. President George Bush who was staying in Poland on July 9-11 at the invitation of Poland's President of the Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski.

The visit, the Bureau emphasized, was an important event in bilateral relations and international life. Frank, constructive talks with president Bush, characterized by the will of mutual understanding, gave a new stimulus for further favourable development of bilateral cooperation in all walks of life. The talks made for the opening

of a new stage of Polish-American relations, for their full normalization. The American side showed readiness to co-create conditions for tightening and intensifying cooperation.

The Political Bureau expressed appreciation for the readiness declared by the United States to back in international contacts economic and financial initiatives of assistance to Poland.

Both sides, it was stated, were unanimous in their assessment of the positive development of the international situation, particularly in Europe. The sides recognized great significance of the successful dialogue between the Soviet Union and the United States. They pointed to the necessity of further measures strengthening confidence, detente, and cooperation in Europe.

The Political Bureau pointed with satisfaction to a considerable convergence, and in many cases even full unanimity of views of the Polish and American side on bilateral relations and international issues.

Paper Comments on U.S. Relations, Economic Aid
LD1307142489 Warsaw PAP in English
1327 GMT 13 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw, July 13—ZYCIE WARSZAWY terms the financial offer proposed by President Bush in Warsaw as unprecedented in relations between the United States and socialist countries. Excerpts:

"The stance of the American partner is currently determined by readiness to discern all economic determinants in our country. Its consistency stems from a striving to make it possible for the U.S. offer to not only help in the solution of this or other economic problem in Poland but to constitute one of the instruments of healing the Polish economy in general.

"Hence, the participation of America in improving the economic situation of Poland is to be conducive to the process of reforms. In the economic field, these reforms boil down to making them totally market-oriented.

"Secondly, the wish to do away with obstacles in the implementation of economic reforms is a new foundation of our cooperation."

Assessing the political background of mutual relations, ZYCIE writes: "President Bush knows how to appreciate the significance of the transformations taking place in Eastern Europe and knows how to read the signs coming in from Moscow. He knows that the process taking place in our part of the continent will be of historic rank. President Bush's America discerns in this process a factor uniting all of Europe, one conducive to the strengthening of peace and stability."

Jaruzelski Letter to Paris Summit, EC Published
LD1407084689 Belgrade TANJUG in English
0001 GMT 14 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw, July 13 (TANJUG)—It is believed that the Paris summit of the world's richest nations will decide on a joint programme of economic assistance to Poland, the Warsaw press writes on Thursday. The country needs about 4.3 billion dollars over the next two to three years to prevent a fall of its economy into a deeper crisis.

Poland's needs are set out in a letter addressed by President of the Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski to the leaders of the seven most developed Western countries and the European Community. The six-point letter explains what the West should do so that the deep socio-economic changes initiated in Poland are not arrested by the economic crisis.

"There is a real threat of a deepening of the economic crisis with all its consequences. We are trying to overcome this crisis precisely by radical reforms of the state structures and the economic system," says the letter, specifying that, for instance, one million dollars in credits will be needed for adapting Poland's food industry to market mechanisms.

To change the unfavourable structure of its production and ease the burden of external debt, Poland needs two billion dollars from the IMF program.

The Polish Government believes that its request for concessions, such as those already enjoyed in international financial institutions by the other highly indebted countries, will be received with understanding. To be able to meet its debt service repayments, Poland must secure the export capability of its economy.

In his letter to the seven Western leaders, General Jaruzelski says he expects from the world bank two credits, one of about 300 million dollars, and the other of about half a billion dollars.

To market its food products abroad, Poland has to modernize its processing industries. This is why General Jaruzelski envisaged a coordination of programmes through the World Bank or the European investment bank. The sum needed is half a billion dollars over the next three years.

Jaruzelski Speaks on French TV on Revolution
LD1307225189 Warsaw PAP in English
2032 GMT 13 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw, July 13—President of Poland's Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski made today a statement for Channel One of the French television on the occasion of the bicentenary of the French Revolution.

Asked about significance of the French Revolution for Poland, Wojciech Jaruzelski said:

"The question might be reversed: What did Poland bring to the French Revolution? Our national uprising of 1794 averted from France not only the threat from Russia, but also a large part of the hostile Austrian and Prussian armies. It also sped up the fall of the coalition directed against the French Republic. Georges Lefebvre, the greatest researcher on the revolution this century, wrote years ago 'Poland helped to rescue the revolution at the cost of its own independence.'

"But, back to the question, it may be said that for whole generations of Poles 'the famous revolution of 1789,' as it was called by patriots here, was a great paragon for a rapid modernization of society which constituted anew fundamental conditions of its existence. It was the hot-bed of principles of modern democracy. And it was an irresistible example of patriotism and bravery in defending the threatened motherland. That is why in Poland, enslaved by despotic powers and maintained in a state of public obscurantism, the French Revolution fascinated people not only on the left.

Speaking on the topicality, on unpassing significance of the universal message of the French Revolution, Wojciech Jaruzelski recalled:

"Great philosopher and the revolution's activist Condorcet wrote very shrewdly that even the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the citizen is not a closed book.

"Over the two centuries that passed from the formulation of the Declaration of the Rights, the world has changed a lot, and new principles should be applied to the new reality. The French Revolution, as well as the October Revolution, are not the only key to solving all problems of the present day.

"Over the past two centuries, alongside inalienable human political rights, economic and social rights emerged and the ideas of socialism contributed to their recognition and propagation.

"Today our not too large but seriously threatened planet faces new urgent problems such as preservation of peace, effects of the technological revolution, future of the natural environment, health protection, consequences of dynamic demographic changes, severe for young and old people alike.

"It means in no way that the values of the French Revolution are outdated, that the 1798 declaration of the rights can be discarded. On the contrary, we in Poland see its vitality increasingly well. Certainly, we will still have to live through a great deal of trouble to have more freedom, more equality, more genuine brotherhood in the world. In that sense, it can be said that we have still various Bastilles to storm, Wojciech Jaruzelski concluded.

Jaruzelski Condolence Message on Kadar's Death
AU1007205189 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
7 Jul 89 p 2

[Telegram of condolences from Wojciech Jaruzelski, PZPR Central Committee first secretary, to the MSZMP Central Committee on the death of Janos Kadar]

[Text] To the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] Central Committee in Budapest.

The Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Central Committee conveys expressions of profound sorrow and sympathy in connection with the death of Comrade Janos Kadar, an outstanding activist of the international and Hungarian workers movement and long-standing MSZMP general secretary. We closely associate his name with services of historic significance to the Hungarian people, the socialist community, and peaceful cooperation among peoples.

We, Polish communists, deeply cherish the memory of Janos Kadar, his sympathetic understanding of our difficult Polish affairs and his personal contribution to the maintenance and enhancement of traditional Polish-Hungarian friendship, as well as to the cooperation linking our parties and peoples.

The thoughts and feelings that he addressed to Poland and the Poles will accompany us in developing and strengthening fraternal friendship and cooperation among our parties, states, and peoples at a time of the renewal and development of socialism.

Wojciech Jaruzelski, PZPR Central Committee first secretary.

Spokesman Bisztyga Denies Party Unity Threatened
AU1007121589 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
5 Jul 89 p 2

[Text] PAP—On 4 July, Jan Bisztyga, spokesman of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Central Committee, made the following statement to Polish television.

On 2 July, the Polish television news carried an item which commented on the events of the preceding week and reference was made to an article published in the French newspaper LE QUOTIDIEN DE PARIS, which expressed certain views relating to the internal situation of the PZPR. As a result of this, the Central Committee received many inquiries expressing outrage and anxiety at the speculations concerning the purported splits within the party. These sorts of views appearing in the Western press often have diversionary aims and, it is quite obvious, they are not to be believed. This time, however, this untrue foreign view, coincided with the lively debate going on within the party, concerning, among others, the subject of its transformation and the increase of its effectiveness in society. That is the reason why the news of this article managed to cause such

confusion. I categorically refute these intentional speculations of the Western press concerning the purported divisions in the party, and I wish to stress that the PZPR and its leadership, is fully aware of the initiatory and stabilizing role of the party in the process of the transformations occurring in Poland.

It can only fulfill this role by being a party that is unified and strong through the support of society. This is the prevalent feeling within the party. This was confirmed by the 13th PZPR Central Committee Plenum, which overwhelmingly demonstrated the unity of the PZPR, its support for the decisions of the 10th plenum, and full accord with the party political line presented by Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR.

The 10th plenum decided that the unity of the party is fundamental and is a guarantee of the effective continuation of the economic reforms and sociopolitical transformations. Irrespective of the intentions that the authors of that article which was referred to in the television news item may have had, the article remains an unfounded speculation of a French newspaper, itself of somewhat dubious credibility. Nevertheless, the reference to the article caused confusion among some party members and certain sections of society. We cannot remain indifferent to this. The matter is being investigated and the appropriate conclusions will be drawn.

Commentary on Diplomats' Wreath-Laying Practice
AU1307183589 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
11 Jul 89 p 4

[Zygmunt Slomkowski commentary: "Dramas, Monuments, and Flowers"]

[Text] In international relations it has become the accepted custom for visiting high-ranking foreign dignitaries to pay public homage by laying wreaths or flowers at places of particular significance for the host country. Our history has given us many such places, for example, the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, the Nike monument, as well as other monuments which mark the places of the heroism and sacrifice of the Polish nation.

There are also places in Poland which are associated with tragic events and times of national drama. Poznan and Gdansk are, regrettably, not the sole tragedies which haunt and will for a long time continue to haunt our national consciousness. There are similar places which are linked with the distant past, and places from the closer interwar period, when the workers and peasants struggling for their rights often paid the highest price—namely, with their lives.

Poland is not some kind of exception though. Many other countries have had and continue to have their own national tragedies, and like us, they also commemorate their painful moments and events. The wheel of history rolling inexorably forward is nevertheless perfectly capable of gouging out chasms between people, as we have

recently seen happen in China and several Soviet republics. This has also happened in the United States, where two adjacent monuments are the visible sign of the deep divisions in American public opinion during the Vietnam War. Other places commemorate the massacres of those who fought for civil rights and the victims of 1968. France has also lived through moments of national drama during the war in Algeria and similarly, Great Britain, when it was burying its coal miners who had defended their pits.

One can say that there is no nation that has not lived through similar dramas. Regardless of the geographical location and the character of such events, these events have one thing in common, namely, they are intimately connected to the most profound recesses of a nation's life, and each nation must come to terms with these dramas in its national conscience, drawing from them the appropriate lessons. Above all, it must find a proper place for them in its history, so that they can shape and strengthen the moral bedrock which underpins the whole nation in the national interest, and so that they are not used to perpetuate old divisions, create new ones, or what would be worse, so that they do not fall prey to the manipulations of short-term political aims. This is an extremely delicate fabric of the spiritual life of every nation and one which has to be mutually respected. Each clumsy move, no matter how well meant, can have the opposite effect from the one intended. This is one of the reasons why it has become the accepted custom that foreign dignitaries lay wreaths and flowers at those places where the performance of such act cannot give rise to any ambiguity as to its intent, and no questions can arise as to why one is paying homage to this and not that place, or why one is honoring this and not that person.

It is quite obvious that this has nothing to do with the attempts to cover up certain dramatic events of the past. This happens in the United States as well as in other countries, and Poland is no exception. It cannot be otherwise, for it is impossible to deny one's own history. It is only by allowing each country its unfettered and sovereign right to pass judgment on its past and its most tragic moments that one can most effectively avoid getting oneself into a situation which could lead to these dramas and conflicts between brothers.

Siwicki Receives Soviet Navy Commander in Chief
LD0507231889 Warsaw PAP in English
1736 GMT 5 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw, July 5—PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] Central Committee Political Bureau member, Minister of National Defence Gen Florian Siwicki received the commander-in-chief of the Soviet Navy, Deputy Minister of Defence of the USSR, Admiral Vladimir Chernavin.

During the meeting, the sides discussed matters of common interest to the Polish and Soviet navies.

The meeting was attended by Vice Minister of National Defence, Gen Antoni Jasinski and Commander in Chief of the Polish Navy, Admiral Piotr Kolodziejczyk.

Army Daily Calls for Jaruzelski To Reconsider
AU0607113789 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI
in Polish 3 Jul 89 p 1

[Unattributed editorial: "With Respect for the Decision—But With an Appeal to Reconsider"]

[Text] It is with surprise, understanding, and respect for his personal decision, but with equal regret, that we learned of the statement made by General Wojciech Jaruzelski at the 13th Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Central Committee Plenum, in which he states that he will not be candidate for the office of president of the Polish People's Republic. This Polish Army daily newspaper has repeatedly maintained that General Jaruzelski is politically and personally qualified to meet the essential criteria which are required for this difficult, highly responsible, and honorable post.

We have also repeatedly stressed that we, as soldiers, cannot remain indifferent to the choice of person who will be the executor of the highest function in the state. It has to be a person whose stature will guarantee internal stability, the dignity of the state, a rightful place of Poland and the Polish Armed Forces in the socialist defensive coalition, respect for our country in political circles in the West, and a continuation of that priceless value which the last 45 years of peace and security represent to the Polish nation, a nation that has so sorely been tested in the past. It must also be a person of high leadership authority among the armed forces, who will be their commander and chairman of the National Defense Committee; A person of the highest intellectual and moral caliber who possesses profound political experience and international credibility.

The proreformist accomplishments in Poland are inseparably linked to General Jaruzelski, even though this fact is often not realized or admitted to the extent it should be, by some Poles. For us, the general represents the symbol of renewal of the system and is the chief architect of the transformation of the structures of the state as shown by the "roundtable," among other things. He is behind the conceptual and ideological revaluations which are leading to a more democratic shape of socialism, a humanisation of life, a new economic order, and a greater dignity of working people and the nation.

Let us not forget that the president, according to the new Constitution, will be the highest representative of the Polish state in its internal and international relations. He will be the custodian of the constitution, the sovereignty and security of the state, and the inviolability and indivisibility of its territory and of its international political and military alliances.

Therefore, we fully concur with the stand adopted by the Central Committee and the PZPR Sejm Deputies Club which, after having comprehensively debated the general's statement, decided to continue their recommendation of and support for Wojciech Jaruzelski, and have appealed to him to reconsider his decision not to run for presidential office.

The above is not only an expression of solidarity on the part of soldiers for one of their own number, but above all a recognition for the national, patriotic, and civic qualities which we associate with his person, as well as a profound respect for his untiring work on behalf of the *raison d'etat* of the Polish state.

Army Daily Commentary Views Tasks of New Sejm
LD0407110889 Warsaw PAP in English
1019 GMT 4 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw, July 4—A new stage is opening in constructing the system of socialist democracy, said the Army daily ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in a commentary carried on the day of the inaugural meeting of the Polish Sejm and Senate today.

The daily posed the following questions:

"Will the reviving Polish democracy work out such forms of functioning, release such political mechanisms which will be conducive to security, stability, consolidation of the international position of the Polish state, and especially of such a priceless value for Poles as lasting peace which has been guaranteed by the participation of Poland and the Polish Army in the allied defence coalition—the Warsaw Treaty?

"Will the National Assembly, particularly in the initial stage of its activity and within its sovereign authority, make such historic state, legislative and personal decisions which will continue the line of renewal and national agreement, of commanding respect for the state?"

In conclusion, the paper voiced hope that the experiment that is beginning in Poland has many premises for democracy not to deteriorate into decomposition of state life, not to mean struggle for interests of various lobbies or political gamble played behind the scenes in the name of factional ambitions and aims, and be a moderate citizens' democracy.

Military Council Meets, Discusses Role, Tasks
AU1007121389 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
5 Jul 89 p 1

[PAP report of meeting of the Military Council of the Ministry of National Defense: "Security and the Stability of the State are the Foundations on Which All Processes of Reform Must be Based" on 3 July—place not given]

[Text] The Military Council of the Ministry of National Defense, one of the specially important organs in the system of command of the Armed Forces of the Polish People's Republic, in its Monday meeting [3 July], clarified its position in relation to the present internal and external situation of the country, and discussed the

role and tasks of the Armed Forces in this historical moment for the state and the nation, writes a PAP correspondent.

The nascent Polish democratic parliamentarism is at the starting point of creating various forms of functioning and political mechanisms, which, in Poland's most vital interests, have to be favorable to Polish security, thus, the very thing for which the Polish Armed Forces are responsible.

The Armed Forces are one of the elements of the state organism, which is specially entrusted with the sovereignty and integrity of our state. This responsibility stems from historical factors as well as from its highest law; the Constitution.

The Military Council stressed, in the name of the Armed Forces, that it is essential for the nation and the state that Poland's international standing be strengthened, and specially, that the inviolability of Polish borders be assured. The guarantee for this and its necessary condition, a condition of *sine qua non*, has been, is, and must be, Poland's participation in the allied defensive coalition of the Warsaw Pact.

A most crucial aspect is the question of command of the Armed Forces, which the Constitution describes: "Stand guard over the sovereignty and the independence of the Polish nation, its security and its peace."

The Military Council of the Ministry of National Defense expressed the view that it expects the chairman of the Committee for Defense, the Commander of the Armed Forces, to be a person endowed with the appropriate qualifications, who will give constitutional guarantees of security in which the country can develop. No one can possibly have forgotten what the experience of history has so thoroughly taught Poland, namely, that the security and stability of the state are the foundation upon which all processes of reform in the state must be based, and they are the bedrock on which we can build those things, that millions of Poles are hoping for.

Solidarity Joins Health Care Strike Alert
LD0807140589 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1005 GMT 8 Jul 89

[Text] Flags and information on a strike alert appeared yesterday on the emergency ambulance service and outpatient clinic buildings in Wroclaw Voivodship. A message sent by the Voivodship Council of the Federation of Health Service Employees' Trade Unions to minister Professor Izabella Planeta-Malecka says that if the situation does not change, members of the government will have to work in the doctors' surgeries.

The protest by the federation's National Council, sent to the same address, speaks of a pauperization of the health service and the government's dishonest attitude. The reason, as usual, is money. Two months ago, at an

out-of-town meeting of the Council of Ministers' Economic Committee in Katowice, it was decided to pay health service employees 145 billion zloty on account for future pay increases. This money was to have been paid in July. Meanwhile, the Council of Ministers decided to freeze pay increases, price increases, and subsidies; The payout to the health service of the promised advances was therefore suspended. The result was general dissatisfaction. The number of applications for release from work submitted to health care teams and hospitals rose sharply. In one Wroclaw district, seven nurses gave in their notice simultaneously. In Olesnica, five doctors asked to leave their jobs at the same time.

The number is turning into an avalanche. The situation is difficult, because there is already a shortage of qualified medical staff. Solidarity also joined in the strike alert announced yesterday.

Poznan Health Workers Protest Working Conditions
LD1007223789 Warsaw Domestic Service
in Polish 1005 GMT 10 Jul 89

[Text] As is well known, since Thursday [6 July] a hunger strike by a group of workers from the Oncological Hospital and the Ambulance Service has been going on in front of the Voivodship Administrative Office. On Saturday afternoon the strikers met with representatives of the Voivodship authorities - the meeting was chaired by Deputy Voivoda Bogdan [Zastawicz]. After talks lasting over 6 hours an accord was signed at midnight. As is well known, the strikers raised both the problems of the Poznan health service and those of a nationwide character in their demands. Of course, by virtue of prerogatives, the first were those dealt with. Let us recall that the strikers, inter alia, demanded a 5-hour day in the Oncological Hospital, the better equipping of this unit, improvements in working conditions, and also a change of the director of the hospital. As the voivodship doctor, Lucyna Lyczakowa, informed me, from today basic services, that is personnel having direct contact with patients, will run for 5 hours daily. A special commission has been appointed to study and propose solutions relating to the functioning of the hospital and its equipment. The director hitherto, Dr Cezary (Ramlal), has resigned from the post he held. As the statement of the strike committee reads: this accord has brought about positive results in the form of the signed protocol relating to the concerns of the Oncological Hospital. It was also established that on 17 July talks will take place on the matter of the implementation of the demands of the voivodship ambulance service station. Despite this group of demands being met, the strike committee decided to continue the hunger strike. This is associated with the implementation of the second group of demands, that constitute the nationwide demand for the immediate reform of the health service, and especially the basis of its financing. Let us add that the demands are not addressed to the voivodship authorities, but solely to the authorities of the Polish People's Republic.

Finance Official on Draft Economic Measures
AU0607152189 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA
in Polish 4 Jul 89 p 3

[PAP report on interview with Janusz Sawicki, deputy minister of finance, by an unidentified PAP journalist: "Polish Draft Economic Program for 1989-1992—Assessment by the IMF and the World Bank"—date and place not given]

[Text] Last week, Janusz Sawicki, deputy minister of finance, was in the United States, where he held talks with the representatives of the IMF, the World Bank, and the American Administration about the Polish draft economic program for the years 1989-1992, prepared by the Polish Ministry of Finance.

[Question] What are the results of these talks?

[Sawicki] The Polish draft proposals which are to form the eventual base for the IMF regulatory program currently under preparation, underwent preliminary but profound analysis by the experts of the international finance organizations. They stated that it was the first program which Poland had presented which formed an acceptable starting point for constructive negotiations with the IMF. At the moment, we are only at the stage of technical questions and consultations, and the official negotiations can only begin when the program is accepted by the National Assembly.

[Question] Does this mean that the program which was accepted by the Council of Ministers last Friday [30 June], could form the regulatory program itself, and be financed by credits from the IMF and the World Bank?

[Sawicki] During the discussions on the draft program, the international experts put forward many suggestions. They stressed that the liberalization of prices must be accompanied by a more rapid stabilization of the general economic situation in Poland. In their eyes, it would mean that Poland has to adopt a more vigorous monetary policy, raising interest levels, tightening the mechanisms controlling real incomes, and limiting the budget deficit, not only by increasing its revenues, but by limiting budgetary expenditure, namely, its subsidy payments. These are very important suggestions.

The IMF wants to know to what extent, in practice, we will be able to implement a program which has been agreed with the international organizations, and what the reaction of Polish society is likely to be to this program. According to the financial organizations, experience to date has not been very encouraging, and because of this, these organizations are suggesting that the Polish Government should implement certain elements of this program before the IMF advances any credits. We find it difficult to accept this precondition. That is why we are pressing for credits from the regulatory program without any delay or trial period. This point was the subject of the talks we had with, among others, the Department of State and the Department of the Treasury, where we additionally stressed the need for

assistance preceding the implementation of this program. This would take the form of guarantees by the governments of our main creditors, enabling them to open further credits to Poland.

[Question] In this situation, is there a possibility of, let us call it, support for reforms by means of rapid credits advanced by our main creditors?

[Sawicki] The United States and the other Western creditors have made the opening of credit lines conditional upon the acceptance of the regulatory program. Thus, credit is made conditional on our promise to implement deep structural reforms and to cooperate in the structural transformations, that is, the development of specific sectors, economic undertakings, and so on and so forth. They strongly reject, at least on the so-called executive level, the proposal to advance direct credits to fund consumption. They have stressed that the extent of their support will directly depend on the depth of reforms which are accepted by parliament.

[Question] How does our indebtedness and the servicing of our debts look in the light of the above?

[Sawicki] The West has tied the question of the reopening of credit lines and of matters connected to our general indebtedness to the acceptance of the regulatory program. The Paris Club will be ready to hold talks on the postponement of our debt repayments after we have entered into the agreement with the IMF. The same applies to the position of the commercial banks. The strategy of the way we repay our debts must be incorporated into the regulatory program, because this program is related to our internal and external balance. I believe that we can reach a "favorable" accommodation with the Paris Club and make our rate of repayment dependent on the extent of capital inflow and the results of our export trade. This, however, as I have stressed before, depends on our internal decision accepting the reforms as agreed with the IMF. I am fully aware that the underlying tone of the question hints at the possibility of obtaining concessions, namely those related to the level of interest payable in any eventual agreement reached with the Paris Club. This type of solution could only come about through a political understanding, and the realization of such an understanding would have to be reflected in bilateral relations.

[Question] It appears that the West has made its participation in the reforms of our economy dependent on a tough, profound economic program and its strict implementation. When is it likely that the IMF will accept this program?

[Sawicki] I consider that the West is not talking of aiding Poland "generally," but it is rather talking of aiding us in the implementation of our reforms, whose extent will be defined by the regulatory program. As for the time when it is likely to be accepted, this is dependent on our own internal decisions. Given the state of our relations with the IMF, I think that from the technical side, such an acceptance could be likely in September or October.

Ceausescu Sends Message to World Youth Festival

AU1007131389 Bucharest SCINTEIA

in Romanian 2 Jul 89 p 1

["Message From Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, President of the Socialist Republic of Romania Addressed to the Participants in the 13th World Youth and Student Festival in Pyongyang" on 1 July 1989]

[Text] Dear young friends: I take particular pleasure in addressing warm friendly greetings and best wishes to the participants in the World Youth and Student Festival, which is currently taking place in the DPRK capital.

This festival is a new and wonderful opportunity to increase contacts and ties of friendship with youth from all parts of the globe, with youth organizations everywhere in the struggle to implement the bright ideals and aspirations of the young generations and of all peoples to live in a world that ensures dignified living conditions and fulfillment, a world of freedom, independence, peace, progress, and understanding among all nations.

The World Youth Festival is taking place at a time when the international situation continues to be very serious and complex. As a result of the continuation of the arms race, of perfecting and modernizing and even manufacturing new types of nuclear weapons and other means of mass destruction, of maintaining conflicts and states of tension in various regions of our planet, and as a result of the effects of the world economic crisis, strong contradictions are continuing and perpetuating and they affect all countries, the present and the future of all peoples, and jeopardize the existence of life itself on Earth.

Under these conditions, the struggle to achieve peace and disarmament is the fundamental issue of our times and of the whole of mankind, therefore of the young generation, too. History has proved and continues to prove that in every war most of the victims were among young people and they paid the most sacrifices in human lives. That is why, Romania believes that young people in every country should rise with utmost determination, together with their people, and say a decisive NO to arming and war.

It is a vital imperative that all states and peoples—among which youth represent a huge force—should strive with all their power to halt the arms race and implement a complex disarmament program, primarily for nuclear disarmament and to achieve the elimination of chemical weapons and a substantial reduction of conventional weapons and of military expenditure. Likewise, it is necessary to intensify efforts to find solutions to all conflicts and states of tension that exist in the world today, solely through peaceful means, through negotiations, in order to completely eliminate force and the threat of force from international relations. The sacred right of each nation to develop freely and independently and to organize its life as it wishes, without any outside interference, should be respected everywhere!

No one, more than young people, can feel—even during peace time—the effects of the very serious and very contradictory situation in which mankind is living today. During a time in which great achievements have been registered on the road of progress and civilization, billions of young people and children have no shelter and lack the elementary rights to enjoy the bright light of science and culture and are looking for a job in vain, they virtually do not have any prospect in life.

Romania consistently militates to ensure that all states and governments in the world pay greater attention to solving young people's living and working problems, concern themselves with creating all necessary conditions for young people to live and progress in complete freedom and have an unhampered access to the discoveries of modern civilization and to everything they need to completely assert themselves in work, science, culture, and in all the other fields of social life. There is no loftier and more responsible duty than to ensure a dignified, free, and happy life for the young generation—which represents the future of mankind—in a climate of lasting peace and international cooperation.

The young generation is greatly interested in participating in the activity of finding constructive solutions to all problems regarding the present and the future of mankind and of establishing a lasting climate of security, cooperation, and peace throughout the world. By completely uniting their concerted efforts and working closely with all the people in their respective countries, young people can and should make a greatly important contribution to solving the dramatic problems that have been created in the world as a result of its division into rich and poor, to eliminating underdevelopment, and to establishing a new international economic order and new interstate relations, in complete equality and equity, relations that should ensure the rapid progress of all countries, primarily of backward countries.

Primarily the youth should unite their forces and most firmly militate to ensure the fundamental rights of the new generations: the right to study, to instruction, culture, health care, dwellings, and the right to participate in the organization and management of society, without any kind of social, national, or racial discrimination and to freely affirm themselves in all fields of activity.

Now, when the whole world is asking with increasing concern the question of how the 20th century will end and how mankind will pass on to the third millennium, people and the youth of the world, through their united struggle, should respond in an optimistic way and show complete confidence in the future and in the capability of mankind to build a better and more just world, a world of peace and cooperation!

Dear young friends, the Socialist Republic of Romania has made the concern and care for bringing up and molding the young generation the vital goal of its whole policy of building the new system and of ensuring cooperation and peace with all nations of the world.

I take particular pleasure in affirming that young people in Socialist Romania, together with our whole nation, are committed with all their power to and participate with enthusiasm and responsibility in the fulfillment of plans and programs for the socioeconomic development of our homeland and the many-sided progress of our whole country and, at the same time, they make an important contribution to implementing the foreign policy of understanding, cooperation, and peace promoted by our party and our socialist state. In the spirit of this deeply humane policy, representatives of Romanian youth are participating in the World Youth festival with the wish to continuously strengthen friendship and cooperation with young people in every country and to actively cooperate in establishing new relations of complete equality, respect for independence and national sovereignty, noninterference in domestic affairs and mutual advantage, and more marked promotion of a policy of peace and cooperation among all the nations of the world.

I express my hope that the current World Youth and Student Festival will make a new and important contribution to developing friendship and cooperation among young people in the world and to achieving and consolidating the unity of action of young people and of their organizations, with a view to increasing their participation in discussing and finding solutions to the problems that determine progress and peace in the world today.

With these thoughts, I extend wishes for complete success to the 13th World Youth and Student Festival in Pyongyang.

I take this opportunity to convey to Comrade Kim Il-song, DPRK president, and to the friendly Korean people hosting this festival heartfelt wishes for new successes on the path of their country's socioeconomic development and the fulfillment of all their wishes and legitimate aspirations for the peaceful, independent, and democratic reunification of their homeland.

Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Press Marks Anniversary of Treaty With USSR
AU0707175389 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1707 GMT 7 Jul 89

["Friendly Multilateral Romanian-Soviet Cooperation"—
AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, 07/07/1989—Marking the 19th anniversary of the new treaty of friendship, collaboration and mutual assistance between Romania and the Soviet Union—a highly important political document which, by expanding the provisions of the first 1948 treaty, has provided the political and legal framework for the further growth of the Romanian-Soviet relations of manifold cooperation, SCINTEIA stresses in a commentary in its today's issue that the time since the treaty was

signed has strongly shown its significance for the strengthening of friendly cooperation between the two countries, bilaterally as well as internationally.

The treaty celebrated today is a continuation, at a higher level, of the long-standing, rich traditions of friendship between the two peoples, of relations which have steadily developed in various fields of activity in the years of socialist construction. Firmly set on the principles of fully equal rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs, reciprocal advantage and comradely mutual assistance, the newspaper goes on, this collaboration is meant to help implement the two countries' socioeconomic development programmes and asserts itself as a factor of promoting the cause of security, understanding and cooperation in Europe and the world over.

It is a truth corroborated by life that the ties of close friendship established and developing between the RCP [Romanian Communist Party] and the CPSU are a deciding factor of expanding and deepening the Romanian-Soviet collaboration. Now the Romanian Soviet relations develop under the particularly favourable influence of the understandings reached during President Nicolae Ceausescu's official visit of friendship to the Soviet Union last autumn preceded by President Mikhail Gorbachev's friendly official visit to Romania. The documents concluded on those occasions, taking the two countries' growing potentials as a basis and expressing both parties' and states' will to ever better use the new possibilities extant, traced the guidelines for mutually advantageous collaboration and opened ever broader prospects to the Romanian-Soviet relations.

One can note with satisfaction that, in this spirit, the ties of collaboration between the two countries see a growing course on a political, economic, technical, scientific and cultural plane, in all spheres of mutual interest, the commentary points out.

Of special significance in the aggregate of Romanian-Soviet relations is the economic and technical-scientific collaboration apt to meet, on mutually advantageous terms, the two countries' requirements for energy, raw materials, fuel, modern machinery and equipment. The evolution of collaboration in these domains complies with the provisions of the long-term programme of economic and technical-scientific collaboration till the year 2000, signed at top level. In this framework, the intensification of production specialization and cooperation in production by promoting new, modern collaboration forms acquire growing significance. Likewise, the measures for a better use of the growing technical and scientific potential of the two countries are carried through with expanding cooperation in this area, by applying the latest achievements of the revolution in science and technology. Romania and the Soviet Union attach great significance to improving collaboration and

activity within CMEA as it is apt to help each national economy progress, the member countries' economic development levels get closer to one another and raise their peoples' well-being.

Links also develop at various levels, on a party and state line, between parliaments, mass and public organizations, just as exchanges of experience in various domains of socialist construction, as major factors in better mutual acquaintance, in the consolidation of friendship between the peoples of the two countries.

Romania and the Soviet Union also develop their cooperation in the world arena acting, alongside the other socialist countries, the progressive, democratic and realistic forces everywhere, for the elimination of the threat of a devastating nuclear war and the achievement of disarmament, for a peaceful, negotiated settlement of interstate litigious issues, the establishment of a climate of detente, security and peace, understanding and collaboration in Europe and throughout the world.

The commentary expresses the belief that the manifold Romanian-Soviet cooperative ties will ceaselessly grow, in the mutual interest, in the interests of the general cause of socialism, understanding, security and cooperation worldwide.

In its turn, ROMANIA LIBERA evinces in its 7 July commentary that as part of the general policy of developing relations with the socialist countries, the RCP and Romanian state pay special attention to growing many-sided cooperation and friendship with the Soviet Union, a defining constant of Socialist Romania's foreign policy which finds a consecration in the programmatic documents of the RCP.

Romania's participation in a number of bilateral conventions concluded with the Soviet Union on economic cooperation, production specialization and cooperation in production, as well as its ever growing contribution to increasing the goods exchanges between the two countries, is a telling expression of this country's interest and initiative to continually step up its cooperation with the Soviet Union, the paper assesses. The daily also underscores the Soviet Union's material potential, and its achievements in building a modern industry in peak areas of science and technology, and that socialist Romania's accomplishments provide highly favourable prerequisites for the steady amplification and increase of exchanges, cooperation and production specialization.

On the same occasion the foreign policy weekly LUMEA runs a commentary in its latest issue headlined "In the Spirit of Continuously Developing and Consolidating the Romanian-Soviet Ties of Friendship and Collaboration."

Ceausescu Conveys Condolences on Gromyko's Death
AU0707204089 Bucharest SCINTEIA
in Romania 4 Jul 89 p 6

[Condolence Message from Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party, to Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, on Andry Gromyko's death]

[Text] To Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, president of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics, Moscow:

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP], the State Council of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and on my own behalf, I express profound condolences in connection with the death of Comrade Andrey Andreyevich Gromyko, important militant of the Soviet Communist Party and of the Soviet State.

Please convey our deep compassion to the bereaved family.

Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Ceausescu Sends Condolences on Kadar's Death
AU0607204289 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1900 GMT 6 Jul 89

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 6/7/1989—RCP [Romanian Communist Party] general secretary Nicolae Ceausescu sent a telegram to the president of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, Rezzo Nyers, which reads:

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party as well as of my own, I convey to you profound condolences on the death of Comrade Janos Kadar, outstanding militant of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, of the international communist and worker movement.

I also convey to the bereaved family our profound compassion.

Drnovsek Meets With Foreign Statesmen in Paris

Meeting With Zimbabwe's Mugabe
LD1307155389 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1336 GMT 13 Jul 89

[Text] Paris, July 13 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav State Presidency President Dr Janez Drnovsek, who is attending the celebration of the 200th anniversary of the French Revolution at the invitation of French President Francois Mitterrand, met with Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe today and discussed with him the preparations for the ninth nonaligned summit which is to be held in Belgrade this September.

The two presidents discussed the complex problems of the third [world] countries' indebtedness and the political and economic situation in Africa.

It has been learned that Dr Janez Drnovsek will during his stay in Paris meet with a number of foreign statesmen, guests of President Mitterrand.

Drnovsek is one of the 37 foreign heads of state and numerous other guests who today attended the opening of the official part of the festivities marking the 200th anniversary of the French Revolution. The 1789 human rights declaration, believed to be one of the French Revolution's greatest contributions to the development of democracy in the world, was read at the opening.

Mitterrand today offered a luncheon to his guests—heads of state.

The heads of state will this evening attend the formal opening of the new Paris opera "Bastille" and after that to a formal dinner offered by President Mitterrand.

Meeting With Thatcher, Kohl, Others
LD1307191889 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1814 GMT 13 Jul 89

[Text] Paris, July 13 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav State Presidency President Janez Drnovsek conferred in Paris today with British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl, Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and European Commission President Jacques Delors.

The contacts were held at the Elysee Palace, where French President Francois Mitterrand offered a luncheon in honour of the heads of state or government who are attending the celebrations of the 200th anniversary of the French Revolution.

The talks, as has been learned, were primarily devoted to political and economic reforms in Yugoslavia and Yugoslavia's relations with the European Community. Views were exchanged also on international political and economic issues, and on Yugoslavia's relations with Great Britain, the Federal Republic of Germany and Canada.

Yugoslav State Presidency President Drnovsek is to meet with U.S. President George Bush tomorrow, as announced.

Macedonia's Tupurkovski Elected to Presidency
LD1307110889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1014 GMT 13 Jun 89

[Excerpt] Skopje, 13 Jul (TANJUG)—Dr Vasil Tupurkovski was elected to the post of member of the SFRY Presidency from Macedonia today. Delegates of all chambers of the Macedonian Assembly decided this today in a secret ballot. Dr Vasil Tupurkovski received 175 votes, and the other candidate, Dragoljub Stavrev, received 34 votes. Three votes were void. Out of 250 delegates of the Macedonian Assembly, 212 voted today. [passage omitted]

Further on Serbian Attacks on FEC

Press Views Attacks
AU1307091589 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian
7 Jul 89 p 2

[I. Mrdjen report: "The Most Recent Attacks from Serbia on the Federal Government Reflected in Domestic and Foreign Press—The FEC Exists, Therefore It Is Guilty"]

[Text] "The Federal Executive Council [FEC] is now accused of organizing a plot against Serbia," Dusan Sekulic says in the latest issue of NOVOSTI 8:

The accusers are completely forgetting that Markovic's government first betrayed its declared principles when it gave in to pressure from Serbia and abandoned the plan to liberalize car imports, allowing us only to import new cars, something which is virtually impossible. They are forgetting that the FEC agreed to change the electricity price at the first more serious request—something which Serbia had not managed to get done for a whole decade. Nevertheless, the FEC is now being pilloried because of the clearing account exchange rate policy and because of wheat. And whenever shots are fired from all possible weapons there is always a stray bullet: On the top of one page of a newspaper which belongs to the "Serbian People's Front" there was the title "Clearing Accounts Also Fuel Inflation" at the top of a report quoting responsible people in responsible positions who claim this to be true. There was another article at the bottom of the same page, which claimed that this was not true, that it was something Markovic had invented in order to harm Serbia.

"Calling One's Chieftains To Account"

"In perfect conformity with agitprop laws according to which half-truths are the best support for lies, a colleague who will go far claimed that the government's assertion that exports to clearing account countries increase inflation is 'crazy', because what this involves is 'money that is covered by commodities and such exports have never

fueled inflation and never will—they can only curb it. The person who wrote this would certainly fail both the professional and ethical test. The commodities leave for the Soviet Union, their value is calculated in clearing dollars, our enterprises are paid with money printed at the printing press in Topcider, while the real cover comes only when one of our enterprises imports commodities to the same value from the USSR. When as much as 2 years are needed for that and when it involves \$2 million which are not used, then what is the result of that newly printed money? If one wants to protect the interests of the Serbian economy, which is the greatest exporter to the clearing account countries, one should at least say what this is publicly and demand Yugoslavia's solidarity. In this way, it looks very much like what we from Serbia used justifiedly to accuse the others of: blind selfishness and unprincipledness.

"What else could lie behind completely irrational attacks on Markovic's government of the following kind: You must reduce inflation immediately, but you must do it in such a way that the cost will be borne by others and not us? This was the case with the wheat released from state reserves, which was the only way the government could find to provide cheaper bread during the period of at least 2 months after the republics left it without a single dinar for social policy 1 year ago. It is possible that in the background of all this there is the desire to overthrow the government at all costs—to get rid of that engineer [Ante Markovic] who has taken too seriously the task of stripping the bureaucracy of its power and introducing private ownership into our real socialist paradise, and exacerbated the question of survival, so that every person thus threatened will have to call his chieftains—at communal, republican, and federal level—to account," Sekulic concludes.

People in the know are aware that what the NOVOSTI 8 commentator has in mind is the article "Government of Discord," which was carried on the last day of June in POLITIKA EKSPRES (and appeared in a synchronized manner in other newspapers belonging to the so-called Belgrade press), as well as the demand issued by the Rakovica trade unions asking that "the government should come up with an anti-inflation program as soon as possible."

"Taken the Banner from Suvar"

"Does the current FEC economic policy really help to stabilize the economy or does it deepen the antagonism between individual parts of the country instead, and increase social and other discontent," commentator Slobodan Ignjatovic asks. The former is certainly not the case. The stories about "marvelous results," including the one that foreign reserves have been increased are simply hollow, because officially inflation is still soaring.

If the report—so far only unofficial—that the government is considering a decrease of the clearing rate of exchange of the dinar (some say by even as much as 30

percent) turns out to be true, then there is no doubt that the government is working on deepening the discord—that is, that it is working directly to the detriment of some parts of the country. In other words, this could mean that Ante Markovic has taken the banner of discord from Stipe Suvar's hands. Namely, just as Suvar used to deepen the discord between peoples, so Markovic, that is, his government, contributes to this discord with his economic support.

They are depriving Serbia of money at the stroke of the pen, purely administratively, because Serbia's exports to the clearing account countries are clearly the greatest, bigger than of any other republic.

This government has taken one more step toward discord by exempting final exporters from custom duties and taxes on imports that allegedly serve exports. This automatically makes a hole in the Federal Budget that is to be made up from the turnover tax and which, in fact, creates direct pressure encouraging inflation. It is clear even to the illiterate why final exporters have been chosen.

The FEC has decided on an unbelievably low guaranteed price of wheat, justifying this by market orientation. People from Vojvodina, however, interpret it as revenge because "the people, themselves, took matters into their own hands" there.

Let us not continue listing these things, Ignjatovic writes, because it is clear even from such marginal examples that the policy the FEC is carrying out is not only wrong, but also unjust. The fact that it is wrong is shown by the inflation, that it is unjust can be seen from the facts.

"The Unbearable Lightness of Finding a Way out of the Crisis"

Yesterday's NOVA MAKEDONIJA wrote the following about the demand of the Rakovica Trade Unions:

"An obvious antigovernment campaign, full of exclusiveness, emotion, gloom, and similar characteristics has been—slowly, but one would say with an obvious, even daily, escalation—suffusing, and becoming dominant in, an unprincipled bipolar debate 'for' and 'against' the government's economic policy, in which the thesis on curbing inflation as the essential condition for development is pitted against the concept of a developmental dynamic anti-inflation approach. This campaign differs from criticism, even from a destructive criticism, inasmuch as that in its reasoning it starts from the set fate of the FEC. When the government's fate does not depend on criticism, but vice versa, then everything is permitted, even the 'political use of the class.'"

"Political use of the class can easily be seen in the message that the Rakovica Trade Unions Council recently sent to the FEC, the SFRY Assembly, and the Council of the Trade Unions of Yugoslavia on behalf of

Rakovica workers. This is a new moment in the said campaign, which deserves attention. The formula is easy: Workers have been getting increasingly worse off and this will continue until measures are adopted to help them live better. The responsibility for the consequences that would result if life fails to get better, will be borne by those who fail to adopt measures that will improve living. These measures are as follows: a specific program on curbing inflation and measures to improve the standard of living."

What is one to do about this unbearable lightness of finding a way out of the crisis as interpreted by the Rakovica Communal Organization of Trade Unions, NOVA MAKEDONIJA asks. One should, in fact, proceed from the fact that in conditions when even school copy books have become a problem for a worker's budget, the manipulative power of these formulas is much greater than the possibility of mobilizing workers to realize reformed "socialism" "centered on man." The message from Rakovica must be taken seriously and those people must be told that the FEC does not have a specific program for curbing inflation unless that is implied in the restrictive credit-monetary policy, liberalized imports, the free formation of prices and wages, and real interest rates. The Rakovica trade unions and all other champions of special anti-inflationary programs should be told that the only usual shock therapies missing so far are a wage and price freeze and changes in the taxation system, and they would not be much use. One should add that the Rakovica trade unions obviously do not remember the times when such freezing experiences cost us dear.

These facts deserve to be given an answer by the people concerned. There is no danger that this would create a precedent and that the government will be spared all criticism. The contrary is the case, the Skopje daily says, but this should not be the kind of criticism that would consider the government to be always to blame for frustrated expectations, such as the expectation of national renaissance in some communities.

"The Problem Does Not Lie in Programs"

The fact that in such delicate matters the truth lies somewhere in the middle, is shown by the "diplomatic" reply SFRY Assembly President Slobodan Gligorijevic Ajga gave when a NOVOSTI 8 journalist asked him about his views concerning the demand of some SFRY Assembly delegates that the government should abandon its economic policy and decide on a so-called shock therapy.

"I only want to present my thoughts on the occasion of this crisis of ours," Gligorijevic says. "As regards our inflation and economic stabilization, we have our programs and we had them in the past. In my opinion, solving these problems is not a matter of cleverness and knowledge alone, although we do not suffer from a want of that. The problem does not lie in programs, but in

their realization. In order to find a way out of the crisis we need everything: accord, wisdom, courage, readiness for sacrifice, and persistence.

"Without increasing production, efficiency, and work productivity, that is, an increase in the supply of commodities as a prerequisite, there is no way out of the crisis. This applies to all countries in a similar situation and at all times.

"The social product which remains to be shared in the country cannot endure the existing volume of general and common spending at all levels. A reduction and rationalization of this kind of spending is essential. No form of expenditure should be exempted from reduction. This would be a difficult and painful process. Many 'cuts' are needed. This is our problem and nobody can help us there.

"When one reaches this point, the established program has to be implemented consistently and without exemptions. There can be no privileges. The people who fail to perform their duties cannot avoid sanctions. If we fail to do this, we can bring all the Nobel Prize winners in the world here to advise us and they will not help us much," Gligorijevic replied.

"Popularity as Political Capital"

Understandably, all this has not been without reaction in the world press.

"Ante Markovic's government has recently been submitted to sharp criticism, which came mostly from Serbia," it was stressed in a BBC radio program on 1 July.

"Serbia is obviously afraid that its interests will be affected by market reform," the Paris RFI radio program assesses. "This is perfectly possible, but Ante Markovic has offered all possible guarantees that he will not protect anybody's special interests and, after all, Serbia itself decided in favor of reform. It is hard to say now if Serbia will take on itself the responsibility for overthrowing Markovic's government, but it is possible that the Serbian leadership wants to dissociate itself from measures which demand self-sacrifice and do not bring popularity. Popularity is the largest political capital of the Serbian leadership and its head, Slobodan Milosevic, and that is exactly what should be sacrificed for the success of the economic reform. Such a decision is certainly not easy, but if it is not made, Milosevic will remain prisoner of his own popularity," Paris Radio concludes.

"Markovic is the top Yugoslav politician," FINANCIAL TIMES says, "but his power is limited on all sides by people who are more powerful in their own territory. He must strengthen his federal authority. Nobody after Tito has managed to do that. The crisis works in his favor, but time does not."

DELO Comments on Opposition

AU1307081489 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene
8 Jul 89 p 2

[Danilo Slivnik commentary: "Undermining the Government"]

[Text] While it has been clear to the majority of the Yugoslavs for some time now why they do not live well and why their standard of living is more and more rapidly approaching a somewhat enhanced African average, it has obviously not been clear to the politicians. In some communities, continuous reference is made to some "administrative alternative" that could replace the present reform policy at a favorable moment and, in the manner of "easily promised speed," resolve the problems that have been arising in the economy through 40 long years, and the message coming from those communities is less and less ambiguous: Ante Markovic's government is supposed to be inefficient and it should slowly pack its bags in the fall....

Nobody has predicted what may happen afterwards, but one could hear many things: for instance, the Belgrade press is said to have been forbidden to write positively about the Markovic government and its economic program, although the government obtained general Yugoslav support in its time, and there is an increasing number of direct and indirect attacks on the premier himself, because his policy allegedly causes "strife in the country" and some of his measures deepen the chasm between the developed and underdeveloped regions in Yugoslavia "to the detriment of the south." Of course, one could expect opposition to his reform policy from the very beginning, but recently many people have been confused by the speed and the single-ethnic origin of the attacks: Everything happened at lightning speed and it came from Serbia. First the Belgrade dailies POLITIKA and POLITIKA EKSPRES attacked Markovic for reducing the value of the clearing trade, because this allegedly undermines the economic basis of the Republic; then the workers from Rakovica made themselves heard and threatened to stage a protest unless the Federal Executive Council stops inflation by September; and on Thursday [6 July], the Serbian delegates in the federal assembly suddenly withdrew their consent to the budget adjustments, and thus in essence announced a kind of a government crisis. The Federal Executive Council will extricate itself with the help of provisional measures, but it will also derive a more or less clear idea that the process of its overthrow has begun.

It is difficult to say at this moment what lurks at the back of this sudden clash between Serbia and the federal government, but there is hardly any doubt that the most important reasons are distinctly political in nature and that the Federal Executive Council—as perhaps the most significant integrating force in the country at the moment—has found itself at the center of the clash about the rearrangement of Yugoslavia, which has long been heralded in public and which, following the logic of

incessant political squaring of accounts in the country and the imposition of the will of one (large) republic, should gradually evolve from the "happening of the people" to the "happening of the proletariat." This jump in itself is not surprising at all, but what is surprising are the arguments used by the Serbian side in the conflict with the federal government, because in content they are diametrically opposed to the proclaimed Serbian views on a market orientation and the economic reform. Whichever of the contentious elements is looked at, one can see that the Serbian allegations do not hold water and that, following the logic of finding fault with others, the Serbian republic simply wants to blame its own economic shortcomings on the federation and other republics. This applies, for instance, to the infamous reduction of the value in clearing trade and to inflation, as well as to the use of the funds for the underdeveloped regions, because it is precisely the clearing trade which is one of the great sources of our inflation in view of the tremendous surplus in the trade with the USSR (it amounts to almost \$2.5 billion now), and it is also known that precisely the Serbian economy has the greatest share in this clearing trade.

Markovic's government therefore acted quite correctly when it decided to reduce the value of the clearing trade as against the hard currencies trade, because the clearing trade causes tremendous losses to the state and we all have to finance exports. Of course, Serbia has not understood this step as a completely economical redirecting of our exports toward more rewarding markets, but as an anti-Serbian plot, and it has not been stung even by the remarks of the Soviet themselves who (despite their infinite patience with extensive production) recently said plainly that they do not intend to grant any more loans for the Smederevo steel mill and that the Serbs should finally close it down.... Something similar applies to inflation itself, for it is generally known that under the present conditions, when precisely the south of the country is the worst performer, inflation is the only means of bringing some money to that region. Instead of inflation, we could of course introduce a completely administrative manner of redistribution of income in our country, perhaps even a manner as indirectly proposed in Serbia, but in this way we would probably put an end to all our dreams about a market economy, economic renewal, and the proverbial "better future."

In all that is happening between the federal government and Serbia, the most surprising thing is the exclusiveness of the Serbian accusations, for Belgrade is moving toward the rubicon of Yugoslav policy at such a speed that it cannot be followed even by those who have been its "natural allies" for a long time, and who have perhaps even more cause to protest in economic matters. Thus, even Macedonia has recently resisted some Serbian demands, and the differences are growing even in Serbia, where the Milosevic economic model is showing more and more holes and the well-known popular loan has also come to a standstill. All this of course offers some hope that the days of the Markovic government are perhaps not yet numbered.

BORBA Denies Anti-Serbian Policy

AU1407085889 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian
12 Jul 89 p 4

[Announcement by BORBA newspaper collegium concerning the conclusions of the Presidium of the City Committee of the League of Communists of Belgrade: "BORBA Is Not Conducting an Anti-Serbian Policy"]

[Text] On Monday 10 July, the City Committee of the Belgrade League of Communists held a session devoted to economic reform and the state of the city's economy. Two introductory speeches were devoted to this subject.

One of the large number of participants in the debate, which lasted for several hours, put forward his own assessments of the writing of the BORBA newspaper. At the end, the Presidium adopted special conclusions in which a stand was set forth regarding a solution to the housing problem of Dusan Mitevic, director general of Radio Television Belgrade and member of the Presidium of the City Committee of the Communal Organization of the Belgrade League of Communists [LC]. In the greater part of these conclusions, the Presidium also set forth its assessments of the BORBA newspaper. They say among other things: "On the basis of unacceptable writing by the BORBA newspaper on Serbia and Belgrade which has been continuing for quite a long time, the Presidium of the City Committee of the Communal Organization of the Belgrade LC has stated that an editorial policy has been conducted in the BORBA newspaper even since the eighth session of the Serbian LC Central Committee, which is supposedly democratic and open, but which is in fact aimed at undermining the public's confidence in the social processes in the Socialist Republic [SR] of Serbia and the Serbian LC."

The final passage of the conclusions reads: "Members of the Belgrade LC are particularly embittered that an integral part of the editorial policy which wants to compromise the course of the Serbian LC consists of a string of attacks in BORBA aimed against the personality of the president of the Presidency of the SR of Serbia. We understand that a number of powerful bureaucrats in our country are bothered by the success of the politics and personal popularity of Slobodan Milosevic but we cannot understand why the BORBA newspaper serves an old policy and an anti-Serbian orientation in this way."

The latest and still valid assessments of BORBA editorial policy which were established in the appropriate political and social bodies—the Presidium of the Federal Conference of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia [SAWPY], the central publishing council of the BORBA Work Organization, the publishing council of the BORBA newspaper, and the BORBA publishing council for the SR of Serbia—are positive and indicate unambiguous support for the present editorial and Yugoslav orientation of the newspaper. After these

assessments, no serious comments were made by any community or any leadership at the expense of the content and stands of BORBA. Therefore, no comments came from Serbia.

Criticism of BORBA contained in the conclusions of the Presidium of the City Committee of the Communal Organization of the Belgrade LC and in most of the individual reviews of writing in BORBA, made in the debate devoted to economic reform and the state of the capital city's economy, was not accompanied by the necessary arguments and specificities. It is difficult to say what texts and stands most of the critical comments related to, what they meant exactly, and whether they were founded on facts and to what extent if they were.

It is the legitimate right of everyone and of the Presidium of the City Committee of the Communal Organization of the Belgrade LC to give their own clear and critical judgment of all publicly proclaimed stands, including those published in BORBA. Democratic relations in society in clearing up disagreements over the public word present a three-way obligation: to those who do the criticizing to explain their views in an argued way and illustrate with debatable stands and texts; to those to whom the criticism relates, to self-critically respect any comment and suggestion based on fact; and the founders of the press and organs which have social influence on them (in BORBA's case this is the SAWPY Federal Conference, republican and provincial conferences of the Socialist Alliance, and their corresponding sections and publishing councils) to state their view of editorial orientation and the criticism that has been leveled and establish the appropriate stands.

However, even regardless of these possible discussions and assessments, the BORBA editorial collegium is stressing what is crystal clear to each of its regular readers: BORBA has never conducted an editorial policy whose aim was "to undermine the public's confidence in the social processes in the SR of Serbia and the Serbian LC." BORBA's writing has never been intended to compromise any course of the Serbian LC or the personality of the president of the Presidency of the SR of Serbia. BORBA has never served any "old policy" and its orientation has never been and never will be anti-Serbian, anti-Croatian, anti-Slovene, anti-Macedonian or anti-Montenegrin.... As the newspaper of the SAWPY Federal Conference, BORBA has always considered and considers that its social function obliges it to serve the truth and social criticism and to be a Yugoslav, socialist, democratic discussion forum for critical open dialogue about all issues in Yugoslavia and each of its parts. [signed] Collegium of the BORBA newspaper.

Further on Serbian LC Central Committee Session

Views on Interethnic Relations

LD1307163489 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1318 GMT 13 Jul 89

[Text] Belgrade, July 13 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia and socialism can only survive on the policy of equality between nations and nationalities and on the democratic

federative system based upon it, said member of the League of Communists [LC] of Serbia Central Committee Presidency, Dr Vlatko Petkovic at a Central Committee session which opened here Thursday [13 July] morning.

The session deals with interethnic relations in Yugoslavia, but—Dr Petkovic noted—a debate on this subject cannot be reduced to a discussion on nationalism. Essentially, it is a debate on socialism in Yugoslavia, on the policy of national equality in a federation where the interests of its nations and nationalities will find equal expression.

In his vision of the development of national relations and socialism in Yugoslavia, Dr Petkovic stressed the need for a state which would not be a guardian over man, for the elimination through the forthcoming changes in the Yugoslav Constitution of statism, and for the ensurance of genuine equality of all nations and nationalities in Yugoslavia. He also stressed that Yugoslavia must become an integral economic area.

The League of Communists of Serbia strives for federative Yugoslavia and not for a confederative one, for a radical transformation of the party and of the country's largest socio-political organization, the Socialist Alliance, as well as for democracy which will strengthen the rights of man, pointed out Dr Petkovic.

Because of growing interethnic differences in the country, many federal and republican party or state organs have called attention to these manifestations. Interethnic relations will also be discussed at a session of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee session scheduled for late this month.

Decisions to be adopted at today's session are awaited with interest in the country, in view of the cooling of relations between Serbia and the Republic of Slovenia. The leaderships of the two republics are giving each other lessons in democracy—Slovenia accuses Serbia of unitarianism and hegemonism, and Serbia Slovenia of confederalism and separatism.

An outstanding role in these skirmishes has the press, which has recently found another cause for recriminations over interethnic relations—the speech by President of Serbia Slobodan Milosevic at Gazi Mestan, at the recent commemoration of the 600th anniversary of the battle of Kosovo.

Newspapers in Slovenia and Croatia claim that this was a speech aimed at ethnic division including even a call to arms. A newspaper from Yugoslavia's southern Republic of Macedonia voiced its views on Tuesday, finding in the speech, elements insulting to the Macedonian national being and blaming the worsening of relations between the two republic on Milosevic.

Announcing today's session, the Belgrade daily POLITIKA EKSPRES wrote that in some parts of the country the "unity of nations and nationalities in Serbia has been described as national homogenization."

Serbia cannot understand or accept that its justified demands for equality with the other federal units in the most fundamental, traditional functions of the state are proclaimed unitarianism, hegemonism, and greater Serbia nationalism, the paper says.

It was a reference to the recent changes in the constitution of Serbia which, after fifteen years, brought back to the republic state jurisdiction over its entire territory, including the two provinces, Kosovo and Vojvodina. This made Serbia equal to the other Yugoslav republics, which did not have similar problems under the 1974 Constitution.

Nobody in Yugoslavia has the right to ascribe any hegemonistic aspirations to the Serbian people, because no arguments can substantiate this throughout the entire postwar economic, political, and constitutional-legal development of this republic and the federation, points out POLITIKA EKSPRES.

Trifunovic Address to Session

LD1307212389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1725 GMT 13 Jul 89

[Text] Belgrade, 13 Jul (TANJUG)—The League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] cannot merely repeat its principles on intranational relations without putting forward necessary political initiatives and suggesting answers to today's new problems that could give people the trust that we will overcome intranational disputes and that Yugoslavia will advance and get stronger. Above all, the LCY ought not to forget the powerful disintegrating tendencies and practices in the last 15 to 20 years that have obviously sprung from the economic and political system.

Bogdan Trifunovic, president of the Serbian LC [League of Communists] CC [Central Committee] Presidium, stressed this in his winding-up speech at a session of the Serbian LC CC [Central Committee], dedicated to intranational relations.

Pointing out that the changes to the economic system adopted so far amount to the abandonment of the consensus economy, self-sufficient republican economies and ineffective economic methods and decision-making, Trifunovic said that much is yet to be done. He warned that despite the commitment that one should embark immediately on making the new constitution, the LCY has not yet assumed even initial ideopolitical stances on this, and more so at the federal level.

The debate on the transformation of the LCY is under way, but among its ranks, stances are being presented, even with a blessing of one republican central committee, the adoption of which would, I believe, destroy the LCY as a unified organization and Yugoslav political factor. Regardless of all the good conclusions on Kosovo by the LCY CC, some people within the LCY are opposing them in such a way that they support the resistance of the Albanian separatism's forces and its attempts at internationalizing the problem, and are acting against at the SFR, Trifunovic stressed.

How can one possibly expect intranational problems to be overcome if the divisions in the opinions on these and other issues, particularly those on the future, function, and activity of the Yugoslav federation, are getting deeper?

Is it not a high time to discuss the necessary changes and make specific stances on the new constitution, instead of widening disputes and raising suspicions all the way to the point at which some regard every proposal of Serbia and the Serbian LC as a unitarist and centralist one and even worse words are deployed? Trifunovic asked. He added that he believed that the answers required by this time, internal Yugoslav problems and by the world around us, too, are feasible. These are solutions, as he explained them, which would guarantee the equality of nations and nationalities, democratic and self-managing expressions of citizens and workers, and an effective realization of the federation's vital functions and legality for all.

Bogdan Trifunovic said that the changes to the Serbian Constitution were realized with the help of very strong and widespread support of citizens of all nationalities. He stressed that the Serbian Communists reaffirmed themselves with regard to vital issues, and that individual nationalist excesses and behavior, to which Communists and citizens reacted on the spot, could not call into question the dominant forms of people's gatherings and political activities in Serbia.

We must, of course, most resolutely react to the phenomena of Serbian and every other form of nationalism in the future. They have no support among our people and cause enormous damage.

Every honest man, however, must be worried by the already 2-year-old practice of tendentious and false writings by the Slovene and part of the Croat press on all the events in Serbia, Trifunovic continued. As if the main goal is to frighten the people there with alleged breakthrough of "nationalism in Serbia," alleged intentions for the "retailoring" of Yugoslavia. Some officials and political bodies are also joining in, Trifunovic said.

The president of the Serbian LC CC underlined that it is perfectly clear that socialist Serbia would no longer allow anyone's tutorship.

Speaking about the situation in Kosovo, Trifunovic stressed that only the recent changes in this province, and also the cadre ones in the provincial leadership, were creating conditions for the final realization of the "common front of Albanians, Serbs, Montenegrins, and others." Those who see the "defense of AVNOJ [Anti-fascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia]" in the resistance of separatists to the LC policy in Kosovo are seriously endangering the progressive resettling of the situation in Kosovo and acting against the vital interests of Albanians and Serbs for peaceful life and speedier development on an equal footing, Trifunovic said.

Those who formally agree with the LCY stands on Kosovo while having different views and believing in different things, whether they want it or not, are in practice conducting antiparty and anti-Yugoslav policy and supporting separatists, he said.

The president of the Serbian LC CC Presidium said that Yugoslavia is seriously called into question by separatist and confederalist tendencies, as well as various bureaucratic forces in republics which—while guarding their privileges—attempt to prevent fundamental economic and political reforms.

The LCY is an important cohesive force of the Yugoslav community. Its democratic transformation is necessary, but we must not allow anyone to break it up as a united Yugoslav organization, Bogdan Trifunovic said in conclusion.

Plenum Ends

LD1307213189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1647 GMT 13 Jul 89

[Text] Belgrade, 13 Jul (TANJUG)—Today's plenum Serbian LC [League of Communists] CC [Central Committee] finished with the adoption of the report on material and financial business activity of the Serbian LC CC in 1988, and with the release of Borisav Jovic from functions in the Central Committee due to his present duties in the SFRY Presidency.

Bulatovic Speaks at Montenegro Uprising Ceremony

LD1407062289 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1827 GMT 13 Jul 89

[Text] Adrijevica, July 13 (TANJUG)—The bureaucratic blockade, of willfulness of powerholders and ignorance of statesmen, has prompted the requests for radical and faster social reforms in Yugoslavia, Montenegrin party leader Momir Bulatovic said at a ceremony marking the 48th anniversary of the uprising of the people of the Republic of Montenegro on Thursday. [13 July]

Referring to current socio-political developments in the country, Bulatovic said that the Montenegrin people are hardest hit by impoverishment, the unimpeded [word indistinct] of Albanian separatists in Kosovo and the quarrels and divisions within the Yugoslav leadership.

The Montenegrin people were particularly affected by the events in January, when incompetent republican state and party officials were forced to resign under pressure from the people, Bulatovic said.

The developments since then have shown that the "street," as some have abusively called the people, can do and is capable of doing much more than those who have for years been prescribing wisdom and senseless phrases from various levels, the Montenegrin party leader said.

Bulatovic expressed concern over the country's inflation, and said that its curbing was a prerequisite now only for the success of the economic reform but also for the bare existence of the broadest masses of the population.

Montenegrin Youth Body Launches Attack on Bucin
AU1307185689 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian
12 Jul 89 p 1

[TANJUG report: "Proposal for Nenad Bucin's Recall"]

[Text] Titograd, 11 Jul—The Presidium of the Republican Conference of the Montenegrin Youth Organization today decided to launch an initiative in the Montenegrin Assembly for a discussion on the justification and necessity to recall Nenad Bucin as a member of the SFRY Presidency from this republic.

Explaining this initiative, Vujica Lazovic, member of the Presidium of the Montenegrin Youth Organization, said that the publication of the shorthand notes from the joint session of the SFRY Presidency and the party Presidium held last October, at which it was decided to apply force, showed that Nenad Bucin had taken part in that session.

Initiating Bucin's recall is the youths' moral obligation because it was the youth organization that proposed Bucin for this high post in the first place.

It is correct that Bucin had received the majority of votes at the referendum, Lazovic said, but it is also correct that he tried very hard with his rhetorical abilities to persuade the Montenegrin public that he had not had anything to do with the joint session of the state Presidency and party Presidium, let alone participated in its work.

Bucin even claimed, Lazovic continued, that the decision concerning the use of force was agreed on between Suvar and Radovic on the one hand, and Dizdarevic and Ivanovic on the other.

Lazovic said that by not categorically dissociating himself from the event in Zuta Greda and all other events that took place in October, Bucin is indirectly guilty.

Lazovic was of the opinion that it was a "moral degradation for the Montenegrin people, whose ideals are honor and honesty," to be represented in the SFRY Presidency by a man who is not telling the truth. This initiative, he concluded, is not some kind of storming attack, but is the result of the youth's principled attitudes and respect for democratic initiatives.

LCY Central Committee Publishes Kosovo 'Tasks'
LD1307104389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 0026 GMT 13 Jul 89

[Text] Belgrade, 13 Jul (TANJUG)—The Immediate Tasks of Discharging the Tasks [as received] Concerning Kosovo were published in Belgrade today [12 July]. The tasks were adopted at the last session of the LCY [League of Communists of Yugoslavia] Central Committee. As reported, at its 23d session (on 17 May), the LCY Central Committee discussed the current political situation in Kosovo and the tasks of the League of Communists [LC]. It was said at the same time that the main tasks continue to be to implement the LCY's comprehensive policy as outlined in the Platform on Kosovo, the resolutions of the 13th LCY congress, and at the 9th, 16th, 17th, and 20th sessions of the LCY Central Committee. Tasks arising directly from the assessment of the February and March events in Kosovo are a part of the work on revising and implementing that policy.

In view of this and proceeding from the introductory report and the debate at the session, the LCY Central Committee is setting the following immediate tasks:

1. In light of the conclusions of the Provincial Committee, of the Serbian LC Central Committee and of the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium, and in order to implement the action program of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee, the LC of Kosovo must step up its political activity among the working people and citizens, in the socialist alliance and other sociopolitical and social organization, while at the same time being determined in its efforts to develop intranational trust on the basis of full equality, a faster economic and social development, and overall stability. Efforts to provide the people, the young, and the workers with comprehensive and correct information in order to suppress the spread of disinformation about recent events and about the situation, and measures applied in Kosovo designed to stabilize the circumstances in this part of our country are especially important.

2. Through concrete political action, the LC of Kosovo must strive toward heightening the socialist, Yugoslav awareness of every man in the province and, especially of the citizens of Albanian nationality, to convince them that the SFRY is their country in which they can realize all their rights and, together with other nations and

nationalities, secure their prospects for existence for which they also are expected to bear responsibility. For this reason, efforts must continue to promote the equitable status and comprehensive development of this nationality, as well as the struggle against Albanian nationalism as an integral part of these efforts. Of special importance is the struggle to develop a Yugoslav-oriented socialist conscience among young people, in schools and at the university, in science, culture, etc.

Kosovo can be defended from nationalism and chauvinism only through common political will and the Yugoslav patriotic inclinations of all its people. The task of developing and enhancing a united front comprising Albanians, Serbs, Montenegrins, and other nations and nationalities on the basis of specific programs of socioeconomic development and efforts to improve the quality of everyone's life, with the ideas of our revolution about equality and brotherhood and unity as the rallying point have prime importance. Kosovo must become peaceful and free of nationalist passions and rifts, open and capable of developing and progressing as soon as possible. The struggle against Albanian nationalism as the main source of negative phenomena, pressures, and violence must remain the priority task in Kosovo. At the same time, efforts are needed to fight Serbian and Montenegrin nationalism and any other type of nationalist activity in both Kosovo and all other parts of our country.

3. The efforts to resolutely continue to establish ideological and political responsibilities within the LC and in other sociopolitical organizations and state organs at all levels, in enterprises and all other bodies in the province are urgently necessary. The LC must rid itself of those who are found to have opposed the LCY's policy or who have failed to implement and defend it, who failed to carry out the tasks they were entrusted with at the time when Yugoslavia, its integrity, and its constitutional order had to be defended in Kosovo. Differentiation must be carried out efficiently, with valid arguments and in a principled way, while at the same time efforts must be made to win over every single man. The LC will also provide support in the process of establishing the responsibility of those in self-managing, public, and state posts and will insist that all concrete facts are presented about responsibility in each specific case.

The LC's activity in fulfilling this task must not be allowed to be used by others for showdowns and personal vendettas. The dignity of an individual must be fully respected.

4. During its forthcoming preelection activities, the Kosovo LC must concentrate on promoting the LCY's policy on Kosovo and the steps taken so far to implement it, on renewing the leaderships—from the basic LC organizations upwards—by bringing in communists prepared and with the ability genuinely to fight for stabilization in Kosovo.

5. Through its political action, the LC will strive to obviate misinformation about and one-sided interpretations of the constitutional changes in the SR [Socialist Republic] of Serbia and secure all other conditions conducive to implementation of the Constitution of the SR of Serbia and necessary for ensuring legal rights in the SAP [Socialist Autonomous Province] of Kosovo, the labor law, and the full responsibility of the state and other organs for observing the rights of people and safeguarding their freedoms. All possible efforts must be made to confirm the beneficial effects of the changes in the Constitution of the SR of Serbia on the interests of all citizens equally, regardless of their nationality, that is, on the interest of all the nations and nationalities in Kosovo and in Serbia as a whole.

6. In the view of the LCY Central Committee, the introduction of extraordinary measures in Kosovo was necessary as an ultimate and inevitable constitutional measure. Political activities and efforts by relevant organs in accordance with constitutional and legal powers must be geared toward securing observance and consistent implementation of the extraordinary measures in order to normalize the situation as soon as possible. At the same time, efforts must be speeded up to create the necessary conditions for efficient functioning of the state and its organs in Kosovo in vital areas of operations, and especially at the level of municipalities, with the aim of removing any danger of threats against the constitutional order and, by implication, of eliminating any further need for extraordinary measures.

7. All social sectors and institutions which have accepted the obligations from the Yugoslav program for halting the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo, for speeding up the return of those who have already emigrated, and for attracting others who wish to live and work in Kosovo, must make urgent efforts to remove the causes behind the slow pace and inefficiency in fulfilling their set tasks, and to step up and diversify the activity to ensure their comprehensive and consistent execution. Past events have reiterated the need for united action by Yugoslav communists in implementing this program and reaffirmed the need for it, its purpose, and strategic importance for stabilizing the political and security situation in Kosovo. This program must be urgently amended and updated in accordance with the conclusions of the SFRY Assembly.

8. The extremely difficult economic and social situation in Kosovo call for urgent broad-based action in the province, in the SR of Serbia, and in the country as a whole to overcome serious economic problems, to make economic activity more efficient, to bring about economic and financial consolidation of the economic and other social entities, to provide conditions for the growth and stabilization of production, for more efficient use of capacities and resources, for increasing exports, and for speeding up structural changes, etc. Therefore, conditions as favorable as possible must be provided for investment in the Kosovo economy and especially for

investing in those economic sectors which generate higher incomes and employment. To this end, adjustments are needed in the way the development of the province has been financed so far.

For the communists in Kosovo, the task, set in the conclusions of the 10th session of the LCY Central Committee, under which the relevant organs should consider the overall socioeconomic and social position of Kosovo and prepare a comprehensive long-term program of Kosovo's overall development providing for the best economic, development, social, and demographic policy and measures for implementing the commitment to speed up the province's development is now even more vital and urgent.

9. The LCY Central Committee and its Presidium are directly responsible for ensuring that there is complete unity in the LCY in implementing the LCY's policy on Kosovo.

The Serbian LC Central Committee and the LCY Central Committee and their Presidiums have the duty, in an organized and coordinated way, to participate in and make concrete contributions to actions facing the LC in Kosovo.

Slovene Human Rights Body on Political Prisoners

LD1307164189 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1516 GMT 13 Jul 89

[Text] Ljubljana, July 13 (TANJUG)—The Council for the Protection of Human Rights in the Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia today urged the Yugoslav State Presidency to do everything in its power for the release of all political prisoners sentenced for non-violent acts.

In a statement released in connection with the 200th anniversary of the French Revolution, the Council expressed hope that the highest Yugoslav state leadership would in future prevent "political trials and other forms of political repression."

The Council for the Protection of Human Rights has thus joined the proposal for the release of "non-violent" political prisoners recently raised by Slovene party leader Milan Kucan.

Last year, 283 persons were charged with political offenses in Yugoslavia—150 with spreading national hatred, 59 with undermining the country's reputation, 31 with spreading hostile propaganda and 17 with plotting hostile activities.

Prior to the new year, the Yugoslav State Presidency pardoned all prisoners convicted under the well-known Article 133 of the Penal Code, that is, for acts of spreading hostile propaganda. In the Province of Kosovo, where aggressive demonstrations were staged by Albanian separatists late last and early this year, no person is any longer held in isolation, as it was reported yesterday.

Forums for the protection of human rights, Yugoslav jurists, and the public have of late increasingly been demanding the abolition of Article 133 of the Penal Code, that is, of the possibility for a person to be tried for a "verbal offense." By releasing all prisoners sentenced under Article 133 for the new year, the Yugoslav State Presidency showed a willingness to meet those demands.

Austrian Socialist Meets Slovene Socialists

AU1007095289 Vienna WIENER ZEITUNG
in German 10 Jul 89 p 1

[APA report: "Contacts Between SPOe and Slovene Socialist Party"]

[Text] The Socialist Party of Austria [SPOe] welcomes signs of political pluralism in Yugoslavia that find expression in, among other things, the founding of a Social Democratic Party in Slovenia, with which several Austrian provinces maintain good relations.

This was stated on Friday 7 July by SPOe foreign policy spokesman Peter Jankowitsch during a long talk with representatives of the Slovene Social Democrats. Jankowitsch stressed that the SPOe wants to support their efforts for more pluralism and democracy.

LCY Changes Mind, Drca Gets Final Warning

LD1207162589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1416 GMT 12 Jul 89

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 12 Jul (TANJUG)—Today the Statutory Commission of the Serbian League of Communists [LC] unanimously upheld the decision of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee regarding expulsions from the League of Communists of Yugoslavia of the former president of the Vojvodina Presidency, Djordje Radosavljevic, and a former member of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee Presidium, Zivan Berisavljevic.

The Statutory Commission decide by 20 votes for and 2 against, that the decision about the expulsion from the League of Communists of Yugoslavia of the former secretary of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee, Janko Drca, is changed into the measure of final warning before the expulsion from the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. [passage omitted]